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ISOCRATES

II

ISOCRATES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

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PREFACE

In order to include in this volume the discourses of Isocrates which deal more particularly with the domestic and the foreign policy of Athens and with his own life and work in relation thereto, I have departed from the conventional order and grouped together the *Peace*, the *Areopagiticus*, *Against the Sophists*, the *Antidosis* and the *Panathenaicus*. For convenience, the conventional numbering is given in brackets.

Miss Maud E. Craig, Assistant Professor of Classics in the University of Colorado, who assisted greatly in the preparation of the first volume, has helped even more in the preparation of the second. Her painstaking care in going over the manuscript, in verifying references, and in reading proof deserves more than this acknowledgement.

GEORGE NORLIN

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I. ON THE PEACE

INTRODUCTION

It is questionable whether the title *On the Peace*, which is used in most modern editions, following the two manuscripts Γ and E [a] and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is more appropriate to the matter of the discourse than the title *On the Confederacy*,[b] which is given in the other manuscripts and in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* iii. 17.

In any case, the discourse is only in a very limited sense an argument for a particular treaty of peace to end the wretched Social War which Athens was waging against her former allies, the Chians, the Coans, the Rhodians, and the Byzantines, who had withdrawn from the Second Athenian Confederacy and were now fighting for their independence. The Athenians were themselves weary of the war, and Isocrates seems to assume that some sort of peace is to be patched up.[c] Eubulus, leader of the peace party, had apparently already drawn up the articles

[a] See General Introd. p. xlvi, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

[b] Ὁ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΣ. The word συμμαχία means any alliance, no matter how limited or temporary, but denoted also a voluntary federation of allied states under a recognized leadership, such as the Confederacy of Delos, formed in 478 B.C., and the Second Confederacy or League, formed in 378 B.C., both under the leadership of Athens.

[c] In fact, he speaks as if the peace were already an accomplished fact. See 15.

of a treaty[a] conceding independence to the recalcitrant allies, and it only remained for the General Assembly to act upon them. But Isocrates is not interested in this proposed pact; it does not go to the root of the matter, being merely a palliative—an expedient to end one war only to make room for another.[b] He is seeking a permanent cure for the troubles into which Athens has fallen, and he finds it only in a radical reversal of her policy of aggression.[c] He proposes, therefore, that she make a lasting peace "not only with Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, but with all the world."[d] This is a high-sounding phrase, but he means nothing less. Athens must come to her senses, throw away her dream of empire, and recognize once for all the right of each Hellenic state to be free and independent. Not only that, she must be alert and active in the championship of that right and, by the exercise of moral supremacy, win back the good will of the Hellenes and so regain the leadership which she lost by the exercise of military power.

In urging this, he has in mind the position which Athens once held among the Hellenic states; he is thinking of the Confederacy of Delos as it was in the beginning—a voluntary federation of free states with a common purpose and a chosen leadership—before Athens turned it into an empire maintained by force. It is the ideal of the *Panegyricus* over again[e]—an ideal more precious now in contrast with the evils of imperialism more clearly seen and more vividly set forth in the light of recent history. When

[a] See 16, note.
[b] See 25.
[c] See 132 ff.
[d] See 16.
[e] See *Paneg.* 80, 81, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

he wrote the *Panegyricus*, he had before him the disasters which overtook, first, the Athenian Empire and, after it, the Empire of Sparta. Since that time, the Theban supremacy, gained at the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C., had taken the same "mad" course and suffered a similar fate.[a] Moreover, Athens had in the meantime repeated the mistakes which brought about the dissolution of the Confederacy of Delos. The Second Confederacy, formed in 378 B.C., had started out with bright hopes. It seemed that the lessons of former experience had been laid to heart, but these were soon forgotten. The same coercive measures were taken to extend and hold together the League.[b] Chares, in particular, the leading general of Athens, who had no mind for moral scruples, bullied the allies and treated them as subject states;[c] and orators—above all Aristophon—were not lacking at home to dangle before the people the alluring baits of empire. The results were the revolt of the allies, the Social War, and the state of demoralization in Athens which is described in this discourse and in the *Areopagiticus*.

The hopeful exuberance of the *Panegyricus* is absent from the discourse *On the Peace*. There is no suggestion here of a union of all Hellas in a crusade against Persia, although that dream is still in the background of the author's mind.[d] Twenty-five years of disconcerting experience have had their effect. It is enough for Isocrates now to urge Athens to set her own house in order and to take the lead in a consistent policy

[a] See *Philip* 53, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.
[b] See General Introd. p. xxxvii, Vol. I., L.C.L.
[c] See Diodorus xv. 95.
[d] See *Epist.* ix., Vol. III., L.C.L.

of peace, resorting to war only to defend the principle that the states of Hellas have the right to be free. For this purpose it is, he thinks, a waste of time to talk of a new treaty of peace. Athens is already pledged to a treaty[a] which guarantees the independence of the Greek cities and forbids aggression. This part of the Treaty has been and is a dead letter:[b] all that is necessary is to put it into effect. Nothing more clearly than this shows the change in the mind of Isocrates. The covenants of the "Peace of Antalcidas," which are denounced with bitter eloquence in the *Panegyricus*,[c] are here termed the "most just and the most expedient"[d] which can be expected under the present circumstances.

This discourse was probably written in 355 B.C. Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium revolted from the Athenian Confederacy in 357. The peace which conceded their independence was signed in 355. The internal evidence of the oration indicates that it was composed while the negotiations were pending.[e]

The author of the Greek "hypothesis" states that when the question of peace or war was brought before the General Assembly, Isocrates arose and gave this address. This he infers from the speech itself, which has the form and the atmosphere appropriate to such an occasion. It is certain, however, that Isocrates did not deliver it, and it is likely that he composed it as a political pamphlet to be circulated among a reading public.[f]

[a] The "Peace of Antalcidas." See *Paneg.* 115, note *a*, Vol. I. p. 192; and this discourse 16.

[b] See *Paneg.* 115.

[c] See *Paneg.* 115 ff.

[d] See *On the Peace* 16.

[e] See Jebb, *Attic Orators* ii. p. 183.

[f] See General Introd. p. xxx, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ

Steph. Ἅπαντες μὲν εἰώθασιν οἱ παριόντες ἐνθάδε ταῦτα
p. [159] μέγιστα φάσκειν εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα σπουδῆς ἄξια
τῇ πόλει, περὶ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ μέλλωσι συμβουλεύσειν·
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν πραγμάτων
ἥρμοσε τοιαῦτα προειπεῖν, δοκεῖ μοι πρέπειν καὶ
περὶ τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐντεῦθεν ποιήσασθαι τὴν
2 ἀρχήν. ἥκομεν γὰρ ἐκκλησιάσοντες περὶ πολέμου
καὶ εἰρήνης, ἃ μεγίστην ἔχει δύναμιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ
τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀνάγκη τοὺς
ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους ἄμεινον τῶν ἄλλων πράττειν.
τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος, ὑπὲρ ὧν συνεληλύθαμεν,
τηλικοῦτόν ἐστιν.

3 Ὁρῶ δ' ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου τῶν λεγόντων τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν, τῶν δ' οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἀνεχομένους. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ποιεῖτε· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον εἰώθατε πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκβάλλειν, πλὴν τοὺς συναγορεύοντας ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἐπιθυ-

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[a] *Cf.* a similar statement in Demosth. *Against Timocr.* 4.

[b] This expression is used in a similar connexion in *Antid.* 22.

THE ORATIONS OF ISOCRATES

I. ON THE PEACE

All those who come before you on this platform are accustomed to assert that the subjects upon which they are themselves about to advise you are most important and most worthy of serious consideration by the state.[a] Nevertheless, if it was ever appropriate to preface the discussion of any other subject with such words, it seems to me fitting also to begin with them in speaking upon the subject now before us. For we are assembled here to deliberate about War and Peace, which exercise the greatest power over the life of man, and regarding which those who are correctly advised must of necessity fare better than the rest of the world. Such, then, is the magnitude of the question which we have come together to decide.

I observe, however, that you do not hear with equal favour the speakers who address you, but that, while you give your attention to some, in the case of others you do not even suffer their voice to be heard.[b] And it is not surprising that you do this; for in the past you have formed the habit of driving all the orators from the platform [c] except those who

[c] Plutarch (*Phocion* 9) states that this happened in the case of Phocion.

4 μίαις. ὃ καὶ δικαίως ἄν τις ὑμῖν ἐπιτιμήσειεν, ὅτι συνειδότες πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους οἴκους ὑπὸ τῶν κολακευόντων ἀναστάτους γεγενημένους, καὶ μισοῦντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς ταύτην ἔχοντας τὴν τέχνην, ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν οὐχ ὁμοίως διάκεισθε πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ κατηγοροῦντες τῶν προσιεμένων καὶ χαιρόντων τοῖς τοιούτοις αὐτοὶ φαίνεσθε μᾶλλον τούτοις πιστεύοντες ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις.

5 Καὶ γάρ τοι πεποιήκατε τοὺς ῥήτορας μελετᾶν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει συνοίσειν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀρέσκοντας ὑμῖν λόγους ἐροῦσιν. ἐφ' οὓς καὶ νῦν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐρρύηκεν. πᾶσι γὰρ ἦν φανερὸν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἡσθήσεσθε τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ τοῖς περὶ τῆς
6 εἰρήνης συμβουλεύουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ προσδοκίαν ἐμποιοῦσιν ὡς καὶ τὰς κτήσεις τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κομιούμεθα, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναληψόμεθα πάλιν, ἣν πρότερον ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες· οἱ δ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ὑποτείνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν δεῖ καὶ μὴ μεγάλων ἐπιθυμεῖν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ
[160] στέργειν τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὃ χαλεπώτατον πάντων

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[a] This term is used of estates in 117. Here it is used of both families and their estates. *Cf.* 88.

[b] By the casualties and expenses of war.

[c] Demagogic leaders of the war party, later termed sycophants. See 121 ff.

[d] As head of the Confederacy of Delos, which developed into the Athenian Empire. During the period of supremacy, which lasted from the close of the Persian Wars to the end of the Peloponnesian War, Athens frequently disciplined recalcitrant confederate states by expelling their citizens and settling Athenians on their lands. Such settlements were called cleruchies. When Athens formed the

support your desires. Wherefore one may justly take you to task because, while you know well that many great houses[a] have been ruined[b] by flatterers[c] and while in your private affairs you abhor those who practise this art, in your public affairs you are not so minded towards them; on the contrary, while you denounce those who welcome and enjoy the society of such men, you yourselves make it manifest that you place greater confidence in them than in the rest of your fellow-citizens.

Indeed, you have caused the orators to practise and study, not what will be advantageous to the state, but how they may discourse in a manner pleasing to you. And it is to this kind of discourse that the majority of them have resorted also at the present time, since it has become plain to all that you will be better pleased with those who summon you to war than with those who counsel peace; for the former put into our minds the expectation both of regaining our possessions in the several states and of recovering the power which we formerly enjoyed,[d] while the latter hold forth no such hope, insisting rather that we must have peace and not crave great possessions contrary to justice,[e] but be content with those we have[f]—and that for the great majority of

new naval confederacy in 378 B.C. it was expressly stipulated by her allies and agreed to by Athens that such abuse of power should not be repeated. But the jingoistic orators advocated nothing less than the restoration of the former empire with all its powers and practices.

[e] The state which seizes and holds foreign possessions is a robber. Isocrates throughout this discourse proposes to make the moral code within the state the basis of her foreign policy.

[f] A proverbial tag. *Cf. To Demonicus* 29, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

7 τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐξηρτήμεθα τῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ πρὸς τὰς δοκούσας εἶναι πλεονεξίας ἀπλήστως ἔχομεν, ὥστ' οὐδ' οἱ κεκτημένοι τοὺς μεγίστους πλούτους μένειν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ὀρεγόμενοι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κινδυνεύουσιν. ὅπερ ἄξιόν ἐστι δεδιέναι, μὴ καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἔνοχοι γενώμεθα
8 ταύταις ταῖς ἀνοίαις· λίαν γάρ τινές μοι δοκοῦσιν ὡρμῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ οὐ τῶν τυχόντων συμβεβουλευκότων, ἀλλὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀκηκοότες ὅτι κατορθώσομεν ἅπαντα καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἐπικρατήσομεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

Χρὴ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας περὶ μὲν ὧν ἴσασι μὴ βουλεύεσθαι (περίεργον γάρ) ἀλλὰ πράττειν ὡς ἐγνώκασι, περὶ ὧν δ' ἂν βουλεύωνται, μὴ νομίζειν εἰδέναι τὸ συμβησόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς δόξῃ μὲν χρωμένους, ὅ τι ἂν τύχῃ δὲ γενησόμενον ἀγνοοῦντας,[1] οὕτω διανοεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

9 Ὧν ὑμεῖς οὐδέτερον τυγχάνετε ποιοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὡς οἷόντε ταραχωδέστατα διάκεισθε. συνεληλύθατε μὲν γὰρ ὡς δέον ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ῥηθέντων ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ βέλτιστον, ὥσπερ δ' ἤδη σαφῶς εἰδότες ὃ πρακτέον ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐθέλετ' ἀκούειν πλὴν τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορούντων.
10 καίτοι προσῆκεν ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ ἠβούλεσθε ζητεῖν τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις

[1] ἀγνοοῦντας add. by Ritschl.

[a] This somewhat wordy passage in which the orator becomes the philosopher reflects a fundamental idea of his pedagogy: There can be no exact science or knowledge of what to do in all contingencies and relations of life; the best that we can do is to develop sound, not infallible, judge-

mankind is of all things the most difficult. For we are so dependent on our hopes and so insatiate in seizing what seems to be our advantage that not even those who possess the greatest fortunes are willing to rest satisfied with them but are always grasping after more and so risking the loss of what they have. Wherefore we may well be anxious lest on the present occasion also we may be subject to this madness. For some of us appear to me to be over-zealously bent on war, as though having heard, not from haphazard counsellors, but from the gods, that we are destined to succeed in all our campaigns and to prevail easily over our foes.

But people of intelligence, when dealing with matters about which they have knowledge, ought not to take counsel—for this is superfluous—but to act as men who are already resolved what to do, whereas, in dealing with matters about which they take counsel, they ought not to think that they have exact knowledge of what the result will be, but to be minded towards these contingencies as men who indeed exercise their best judgement, but are not sure what the future may hold in store.[a]

You, however, do neither the one thing nor the other, but are in the utmost confusion of mind. For you have come together as if it were your business to select the best course from all that are proposed; nevertheless, as though you had clear knowledge of what must be done, you are not willing to listen to any except those who speak for your pleasure. And yet, if you really desired to find out what is advantageous to the state, you ought to give your attention

ment in dealing with them. See General Introd. p. xxvii, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L., and *Antid.* 184, note.

ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἢ τοῖς καταχαριζομένοις, εἰδότας ὅτι τῶν ἐνθάδε παριόντων οἱ μὲν ἃ βούλεσθε λέγοντες ῥᾳδίως ἐξαπατᾶν δύνανται (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς χάριν ῥηθὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τῷ καθορᾶν ὑμᾶς τὸ βέλτιστον), ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συμβουλευόντων οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοιτε τοιοῦτον·
11 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν μεταπεῖσαι δυνηθεῖεν ὑμᾶς, μὴ φανερὸν τὸ συμφέρον ποιήσαντες. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πῶς ἂν ἄνθρωποι καλῶς δυνηθεῖεν ἢ κρῖναι περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων ἢ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς τῶν
[161] ἐναντιουμένων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐξετάζοιεν, αὐτοὶ δ' αὑτοὺς κοινοὺς ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὰς παράσχοιεν;

12 Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, εἰ μηδενὸς ἀκηκόασιν, ὅτι διὰ μὲν τοὺς παραινοῦντας ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης οὐδὲν πώποτε κακὸν ἐπάθομεν, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ῥᾳδίως τὸν πόλεμον αἱρουμένους πολλαῖς ἤδη καὶ μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς περιεπέσομεν. ὧν ἡμεῖς οὐδεμίαν ποιούμεθα μνείαν, ἀλλ' ἑτοίμως ἔχομεν, μηδὲν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πράττοντες, τριήρεις πληροῦν καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφορὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν καὶ πολεμεῖν οἷς ἂν τύχωμεν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντες.
13 τούτων δ' αἴτιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι προσῆκον ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων σπουδάζειν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων βουλεύησθε, ζητεῖτε συμβούλους τοὺς ἄμεινον φρονοῦντας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ὅταν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐκκλησιάζητε, τοῖς μὲν

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[a] *Cf. Antid.* 21 ; Demosth. *On the Crown* 6.

more to those who oppose your views than to those who seek to gratify you, knowing well that of the orators who come before you here, those who say what you desire are able to delude you easily—since what is spoken to win favour clouds your vision of what is best—whereas those who advise you without regard to your pleasure can affect you in no such way, since they could not convert you to their way of thinking until they have first made clear what is for your advantage. But, apart from these considerations, how can men wisely pass judgement on the past or take counsel for the future unless they examine and compare the arguments of opposing speakers, themselves giving an unbiased hearing [a] to both sides?

But I marvel that the older men no longer recall and that the younger have not been told by anyone that the orators who exhort us to cling fast to peace have never caused us to suffer any misfortune whatsoever, whereas those who lightly espouse war have already plunged us into many great disasters. However, we have no memory for these facts but are always ready, without in the least advancing our own welfare, to man triremes, to levy war-taxes, and to lend aid to the campaigns of others or wage war against them, as chance may determine, as if imperilling the interests, not of our own, but of a foreign state. And the cause of this condition of affairs is that, although you ought to be as much concerned about the business of the commonwealth as about your own, you do not feel the same interest in the one as in the other; on the contrary, whenever you take counsel regarding your private business you seek out as counsellors men who are your superiors in intelligence, but whenever you deliberate on the

τοιούτοις ἀπιστεῖτε καὶ φθονεῖτε, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτάτους τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παριόντων ἀσκεῖτε, καὶ νομίζετε δημοτικωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς μεθύοντας τῶν νηφόντων καὶ τοὺς νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντας τῶν εὖ φρονούντων καὶ τοὺς τὰ τῆς πόλεως διανεμομένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ὑμῖν λειτουργούντων. ὥστ' ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, εἴ τις ἐλπίζει τὴν πόλιν τοιούτοις συμβούλοις χρωμένην ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐπιδώσειν.

14 Ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα μὲν ὅτι πρόσαντές ἐστιν ἐναντιοῦσθαι ταῖς ὑμετέραις διανοίαις, καὶ ὅτι δημοκρατίας οὔσης οὐκ ἔστι παρρησία, πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς κωμῳδοδιδασκάλοις· ὃ καὶ πάντων ἐστὶ δεινότατον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐκφέρουσιν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἁμαρτήματα τοσαύτην ἔχετε χάριν ὅσην οὐδὲ τοῖς εὖ ποιοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας καὶ νουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς οὕτω διατίθεσθε δυσκόλως ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς κακόν τι τὴν πόλιν ἐργαζομένους.

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[a] The private morals of men like Eubulus, Callistratus (see Theopompus in Athenaeus iv. 166 e), and Philocrates (see Aeschines, *On the Embassy* 52) apparently left much to be desired.

[b] Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens* 34) states that when, after the battle of Arginusae, 406 B.C., the Spartans made overtures of peace the demagogue Cleophon came before the Assembly drunk and prevented the Athenians from accepting the terms. With this paragraph should be compared *Antid.* 316 and note.

[c] The reference is particularly to Eubulus, who caused to be set aside a portion of the public revenues (the " surplus " mentioned in 82) as a " theoric " fund to be distributed to the people at the public festivals.

[d] See 128, note.

business of the state you distrust and dislike men of that character and cultivate, instead, the most depraved[a] of the orators who come before you on this platform; and you prefer as being better friends of the people those who are drunk[b] to those who are sober, those who are witless to those who are wise, and those who dole out the public money[c] to those who perform public services[d] at their own expense. So that we may well marvel that anyone can expect a state which employs such counsellors to advance to better things.

But I know that it is hazardous to oppose your views[e] and that, although this is a free government, there exists no 'freedom of speech'[f] except that which is enjoyed in this Assembly by the most reckless orators, who care nothing for your welfare, and in the theatre by the comic poets.[g] And, what is most outrageous of all, you show greater favour to those who publish the failings of Athens to the rest of the Hellenes than you show even to those who benefit the city, while you are as ill-disposed to those who rebuke and admonish you[h] as you are to men who work injury to the state.

[e] *Cf.* Socrates in Plato, *Apology* 31 E: "No man in the world can preserve his life if he honestly opposes himself to you or to any other people and attempts to prevent many unjust and lawless things from being done by the state."

[f] The pride of Athens. See Herod. v. 78: Eur. *Hippol.* 422.

[g] The poets of the old comedy exercised an incredible degree of licence in ridiculing everything, divine or human, particularly the foibles of the state. These comedies were given at the festival of Dionysus, when many visitors from other states were in Athens. Aristophanes himself says (*Acharnians* 500 ff.) that he was attacked by Cleon for "abusing Athens in the presence of strangers."

[h] Isocrates resents their attitude towards himself in the opening remarks of the *Antidosis*.

15 Ὅμως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων οὐκ ἂν ἀπο-
σταίην ὧν διενοήθην. παρελήλυθα γὰρ οὐ χαριού-
[162] μενος ὑμῖν οὐδὲ χειροτονίαν μνηστεύσων, ἀλλ'
ἀποφανούμενος ἃ τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων πρῶτον μὲν
περὶ ὧν οἱ πρυτάνεις προτιθέασιν, ἔπειτα περὶ
τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων· οὐδὲν
γὰρ ὄφελος ἔσται τῶν νῦν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γνωσθέν-
των, ἢν μὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὀρθῶς βουλευ-
σώμεθα.

16 Φημὶ δ' οὖν χρῆναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ μόνον πρὸς Χίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κῴους[1] ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς συνθήκαις μὴ ταύταις αἷς νῦν τινὲς γεγράφασιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γενομέναις μὲν πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, προσταττούσαις δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόλεων ἐξιέναι καὶ τὴν αὑτῶν ἔχειν ἑκάστους. τούτων γὰρ οὔτε δικαιοτέρας εὑρήσομεν οὔτε μᾶλλον τῇ πόλει συμφερούσας.

17 Ἢν μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα καταλίπω τὸν λόγον, οἶδ' ὅτι δόξω τὴν πόλιν ἐλαττοῦν, εἰ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἕξουσι Θεσπιὰς καὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἃς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους κατειλήφασιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἔξιμεν μηδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης οὔσης ἐξ ὧν τυγ-

[1] καὶ Κῴους Dionysius of Halicarnassus: om. MSS.

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[a] The Senate of the Five Hundred was divided into ten committees of 50, each serving a tenth part of the year. Such a committee was called a prytany and its members prytaneis. The prytany formulated measures to be brought before the General Assembly.

[b] See Introduction, p. 2, note c.

Nevertheless, in spite of these conditions, I shall not desist from what I had in mind to say. For I have come before you, not to seek your favour nor to solicit your votes, but to make known the views I hold, first, regarding the proposals which have been put before you by the Prytaneis,[a] and, second, regarding the other interests of the state; for no good will come of the resolutions which have now been made regarding the peace[b] unless we are well advised also with regard to what remains to be done.

I maintain, then, that we should make peace, not only with the Chians, the Rhodians, the Byzantines and the Coans, but with all mankind, and that we should adopt, not the covenants of peace which certain parties[c] have recently drawn up, but those which we have entered into[d] with the king of Persia and with the Lacedaemonians, which ordain that the Hellenes be independent, that the alien garrisons be removed from the several states, and that each people retain its own territory. For we shall not find terms of peace more just than these nor more expedient for our city.

But if I leave off speaking at this point, I know that I shall appear to put Athens at a disadvantage, if, that is to say, the Thebans are to retain possession of Thespiae and Plataeae[e] and the other cities[f] which they have seized contrary to their oaths,[g] while we are to retire, under no compulsion to do so, from the territory which we now hold. But if

[c] Eubulus, whose terms of peace were, apparently, not broad enough.

[d] The Peace of Antalcidas. See *Paneg.* 115, note *a*.

[e] See *Archid.* 27, note *d*, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

[f] Orchomenus (Diodorus xv. 79), Oropus (Diodorus xv. 76).

[g] When they agreed to the Peace of Antalcidas.

χάνομεν ἔχοντες· ἢν δὲ διὰ τέλους ἀκούσητέ μου προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς καταγνώσεσθαι πολλὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ μανίαν τῶν τὴν ἀδικίαν πλεονεξίαν εἶναι νομιζόντων, καὶ τῶν τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις βίᾳ κατεχόντων, καὶ μὴ λογιζομένων τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων γιγνομένας.

18 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου πειρασόμεθα διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς, περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης πρῶτον διαλεχθῶμεν, καὶ σκεψώμεθα τί ἂν ἐν τῷ παρόντι γενέσθαι βουληθεῖμεν ἡμῖν. ἢν γὰρ ταῦτα καλῶς ὁρισώμεθα καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντως, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀποβλέποντες ἄμεινον βουλευσόμεθα καὶ
19 περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἆρ' οὖν ἂν ἐξαρκέσειεν ἡμῖν, εἰ τήν τε πόλιν ἀσφαλῶς οἰκοῖμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐπορώτεροι γιγνοίμεθα καὶ τά τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμονοοῖμεν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμοῖμεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων
[163] ὑπαρξάντων τελέως τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμονήσειν. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν πόλεμος ἁπάντων ἡμᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπεστέρηκεν· καὶ γὰρ πενεστέρους πεποίηκε, καὶ πολλοὺς κινδύνους ὑπομένειν ἠνάγκασε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας διαβέβληκε, καὶ πάντας τρόπους
20 τεταλαιπώρηκεν ἡμᾶς. ἢν δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιησώμεθα, καὶ τοιούτους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παράσχωμεν οἵους αἱ κοιναὶ συνθῆκαι προστάττουσι, μετὰ πολλῆς μὲν ἀσφαλείας τὴν πόλιν οἰκήσομεν, ἀπαλλαγέντες πολέμων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ ταραχῆς, εἰς ἣν νῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθέσταμεν, καθ'

[a] Their foreign policy in general.

[b] The Social War.

[c] In *Areop.* 9, he states that in the course of the war

you will only listen to me and give me your attention to the end, I believe that you will all impute extreme folly and madness to those who think that injustice is advantageous and who would hold in subjection by force the cities of others, failing to reckon with the disasters which result from such a policy.

On this point indeed I shall attempt to instruct you throughout my entire speech. But first let us discuss the question of peace and consider what we should desire for ourselves at the present juncture. For if we define this clearly and intelligently, we shall take better counsel in the light of this principle regarding our other interests [a] as well. Let me ask, then, whether we should be satisfied if we could dwell in our city secure from danger, if we could be provided more abundantly with the necessities of life, if we could be of one mind amongst ourselves, and if we could enjoy the high esteem of the Hellenes. I, for my part, hold that, with these blessings assured us, Athens would be completely happy. Now it is the war [b] which has robbed us of all the good things which I have mentioned; for it has made us poorer; [c] it has compelled many of us to endure perils; it has given us a bad name among the Hellenes; and it has in every way overwhelmed us with misfortune. But if we make peace and demean ourselves as our common covenants [d] command us to do, then we shall dwell in our city in great security, delivered from wars and perils and the turmoil in which we are now involved amongst our-

Athens had thrown away 1000 talents on mercenary soldiers alone. Demosthenes also bears witness to the poverty and embarrassment of Athens at this time. See *Leptines* 24; *Aristocr.* 209.

[d] Of the Peace of Antalcidas.

ἑκάστην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς εὐπορίαν ἐπιδώσομεν, ἀναπεπαυμένοι μὲν τῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν τριηραρχιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον λειτουργιῶν, ἀδεῶς δὲ γεωργοῦντες καὶ τὴν θάλατταν πλέοντες καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐργασίαις ἐπιχειροῦντες, αἳ νῦν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλελοίπασιν. ὀψόμεθα
21 δὲ τὴν πόλιν διπλασίας μὲν ἢ νῦν τὰς προσόδους λαμβάνουσαν, μεστὴν δὲ γιγνομένην ἐμπόρων καὶ ξένων καὶ μετοίκων, ὧν νῦν ἐρήμη καθέστηκεν.

Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, συμμάχους ἕξομεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ βεβιασμένους ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένους, οὐδ᾽ ἐν ταῖς μὲν ἀσφαλείαις διὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμᾶς ὑποδεχομένους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀποστησομένους, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτω διακειμένους ὥσπερ χρὴ τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ὄντας.

22 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἃ νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα διὰ πολέμου καὶ πολλῆς δαπάνης, ταῦτα διὰ πρεσβείας ῥᾳδίως κομιούμεθα. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε μήτε Κερσοβλέπτην ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου μήτε Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως πολεμήσειν, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς μηδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφιεμένους. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως φοβοῦνται γείτονα ποιήσασθαι
23 τὴν πόλιν ταῖς αὑτῶν δυναστείαις, ὁρῶσι γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐ στέργοντας ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἂν ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ

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[a] See 128 and note.

[b] *Cf.* Aristophanes, *Peace* 292 ff.

[c] According to Demosthenes (fourth *Philippic* 37, 38) Athens before the peace had an income of 130 talents; after the peace of 400 talents.

[d] Foreigners, whether merchants or not, had to pay non-resident fees, ξενικὰ τέλη; resident aliens paid the μετοίκιον of 12 drachmas per man and 6 per woman.

[e] The reference is to the allies who revolted from Athens

selves, and we shall advance day by day in prosperity, relieved of paying war-taxes, of fitting out triremes, and of discharging the other burdens[a] which are imposed by war, without fear cultivating our lands and sailing the seas and engaging in those other occupations which now, because of the war, have entirely come to an end.[b] Nay, we shall see our city enjoying twice the revenues[c] which she now receives, and thronged with merchants and foreigners and resident aliens,[d] by whom she is now deserted.

And, what is most important of all, we shall have all mankind as our allies—allies who will not have been forced, but rather persuaded, to join with us, who will not welcome our friendship because of our power when we are secure only to abandon us when we are in peril,[e] but who will be disposed towards us as those should be who are in very truth allies and friends.

Furthermore, what we are now unable to obtain through war and great outlay of money we shall readily secure for ourselves through peaceful embassies. For do not think that Cersobleptes will wage war with us over the Chersonese, or Philip[f] over Amphipolis,[g] when they see that we do not covet any of the possessions of other peoples. It is true that as things are now they have good reason to be afraid to make Athens a near neighbour to their dominions; for they see that we are not content with what we have but are always reaching out for more.

both during the Confederacy of Delos and during the New Naval League.

[f] These are singled out because both Cersobleptes, now virtually master of the Thracian Chersonnese, and Philip, with his growing empire in the north Aegean, were giving Athens trouble at this time.

[g] See the opening of the *Address to Philip*, Vol. I., L.C.L.

τοῦ πλέονος ὀρεγομένους, ἢν δὲ μεταβαλώμεθα τὸν τρόπον καὶ δόξαν βελτίω λάβωμεν, οὐ μόνον ἀποστήσονται τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αὑτῶν προσδώσουσι· λυσιτελήσει γὰρ αὐτοῖς θεραπεύουσι τὴν δύναμιν τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τὰς ἑαυτῶν βασιλείας.

24 Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἡμῖν ἐξέσται [164] τοσαύτην ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἄφθονον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἀπορίαν πλανωμένοις ἱκανὸν δύνασθαι βίον παρασχεῖν. ὅπου γὰρ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Καλλίστρατος, ὁ μὲν ἰδιώτης ὤν, ὁ δὲ φυγάς, οἰκίσαι πόλεις οἷοί τε γεγόνασιν, ἦ που βουληθέντες ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς ἂν τόπους τοιούτους κατασχεῖν δυνηθεῖμεν. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀξιοῦντας τοιούτων ἔργων ἡγεμόνας γίγνεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμου καὶ στρατοπέδων ξενικῶν, ὧν νῦν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡμεῖς τυγχάνομεν.

25 Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπαγγέλλονται, καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανά, καὶ πολλὰ ἂν ἴσως τις προσθείη τούτοις· ἡγοῦμαι δὲ δεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον ψηφισαμένους τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευσαμένους ὅπως ἄξομεν αὐτήν, καὶ μὴ ποιήσομεν ὅπερ εἰώθαμεν, ὀλίγον χρόνον διαλιπόντες πάλιν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς καταστησόμεθα

[a] This was done in 353 when the Athenians captured Sestos and settled colonists in this territory. See Diodorus xvi. 34. 3.

[b] For these wandering refugees and the problem they presented see *Phil.* 120 and note.

[c] An Athenian citizen, he was a private in the sense that he had no official post. He was a free-lance captain of mercenaries who took service in Persia and later in the Thracian Chersonnese. What colony he founded is not known.

If, however, we change our ways and gain a better reputation, they will not only withdraw from our territory but will give us besides territory of their own. For it will be to their advantage to cherish and support the power of Athens and so be secure in the possession of their own kingdoms.

And, mark you, it will be possible for us to cut off from the region of Thrace enough land [a] so that we shall not only have abundance ourselves but shall also be able to furnish adequate means of subsistence to those of the Hellenes who are in need and, because of their poverty, are now wandering from place to place.[b] For where Athenodorus [c] and Callistratus,[d] the one a private, the other an exile, have been able to found cities, surely we could gain possession of many such places if we so desired. And those who claim the right to stand at the head of the Hellenes ought to become leaders of such enterprises much rather than of war and of hireling armies,[e] which at the present time are the objects of our ambition.

Now as to the promises held out by the ambassadors,[f] what I have said is enough, although one might perhaps add many things to what I have said. But I think we should not go forth from this assembly, having merely adopted resolutions in favour of the peace, without also taking counsel how we shall keep it, and not do what we are in the habit of doing—namely, getting ourselves involved again in the same

[d] An Athenian orator who had much to do with the formation of the New Naval League, he was charged with treason and retired into exile to Thrace, where he had a part in the recolonization of Datus.

[e] See 44-46.

[f] Probably from the former allies with whom Athens was now at war.

ταραχάς, μηδ' ἀναβολὴν ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαγὴν εὑρήσομέν
26 τινα τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων. οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων
οἷόντ' ἐστὶ γενέσθαι πρότερον, πρὶν ἂν πεισθῆτε
τὴν μὲν ἡσυχίαν ὠφελιμωτέραν καὶ κερδαλεωτέραν
εἶναι τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης, τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην
τῆς ἀδικίας, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς τῶν
ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμίας.

Περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ῥητόρων εἰπεῖν ἐν
ὑμῖν ἐτόλμησεν· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων τοὺς
πλείστους τῶν λόγων μέλλω ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς·
ὁρῶ γὰρ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν τούτοις ἐνοῦσαν, ἀλλ'
27 οὐκ ἐν οἷς νῦν τυγχάνομεν πράττοντες. ἀνάγκη
δὲ τὸν ἔξω τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐπιχειροῦντα δημη-
γορεῖν καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας γνώμας μεταστῆσαι
βουλόμενον πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἅψασθαι καὶ διὰ
μακροτέρων τοὺς λόγους ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἀναμνῆσαι, τῶν δὲ κατηγορῆσαι, τὰ δ' ἐπαινέσαι,
περὶ δὲ τῶν συμβουλεῦσαι· μόλις γὰρ ἄν τις ὑμᾶς
ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον φρονῆσαι
δυνηθείη προαγαγεῖν.

28 Ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως. ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ἅπαντες μὲν
ἐπιθυμεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος καὶ τοῦ πλέον ἔχειν
[165] τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ εἰδέναι δὲ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐπὶ
ταῦτα φερούσας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς δόξαις διαφέρειν
ἀλλήλων· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ στοχάζεσθαι
τοῦ δέοντος δυναμένας, αἱ δ' ὡς οἷόντε πλεῖστον
29 τοῦ συμφέροντος διαμαρτανούσας. ὅπερ καὶ τῇ

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[a] *Cf. Philip* 8.

[b] Meddlesomeness, ἡ πολυπραγμοσύνη, is used here and elsewhere in the speech as the opposite of ἡσυχία (or σωφροσύνη, moderation, self-control). The latter contains the idea of quiet living and minding one's own business in private

disorders after a short interval of time[a]—and how we shall devise, not merely a postponement, but some means of permanent deliverance from our present ills. But no such thing can come to pass until you are persuaded that tranquillity is more advantageous and more profitable than meddlesomeness,[b] justice than injustice, and attention to one's own affairs than covetousness of the possessions of others.

This is a theme on which none of the orators has ever made bold to address you. I, however, shall devote most of my discourse to this very subject. For I observe that happiness is to be found in these ways of life and not in those which we now follow. But anyone who attempts to discourse on a subject out of the common and who desires to bring about a change in your opinions must needs touch upon many matters and speak somewhat at length, now reminding, now rebuking, now commending, and again counselling you. For hardly with all these aids can you be led to a better way of thinking.

For the matter stands thus. It seems to me that, while all men crave their advantage and desire to be better off than the rest, they do not all know the kind of conduct which leads to this end but differ from each other in judgement, some possessing a judgement which is sound and capable of hitting the right course of action,[c] others one which completely misses their true advantage.[d] And this is the very

relations, and in foreign relations, of pursuing peace and avoiding aggression.

[c] *Cf. Panath.* 30.

[d] Advantage in the good sense, which works no disadvantage to others. *Cf. Nicocles* 2, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.; *Antid.* 275.

πόλει συμβέβηκεν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἰόμεθα μέν, ἢν
τὴν θάλατταν πλέωμεν πολλαῖς τριήρεσι καὶ
βιαζώμεθα τὰς πόλεις συντάξεις διδόναι καὶ
συνέδρους ἐνθάδε πέμπειν, διαπράξασθαί τι τῶν
δεόντων· πλεῖστον δὲ διεψεύσμεθα τῆς ἀληθείας.
ὧν μὲν γὰρ ἠλπίζομεν, οὐδὲν ἀποβέβηκεν, ἔχθραι
δ' ἡμῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ δαπάναι μεγάλαι
30 γεγόνασιν, εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἐκ μὲν
τῆς τοιαύτης πολυπραγμοσύνης εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους
κινδύνους κατέστημεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δικαίαν τὴν
πόλιν παρέχειν καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ
μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν παρ' ἑκόντων τῶν
Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐλάβομεν· ὧν νῦν ἀ-
λογίστως καὶ λίαν εἰκῇ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον κατα-
31 φρονοῦμεν. εἰς τοῦτο γάρ τινες ἀνοίας ἐληλύθασιν,
ὥσθ' ὑπειλήφασι τὴν μὲν ἀδικίαν ἐπονείδιστον
μὲν εἶναι, κερδαλέαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν καθ'
ἡμέραν συμφέρουσαν, τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην εὐδόκιμον
μέν, ἀλυσιτελῆ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον δυναμένην τοὺς
ἄλλους ὠφελεῖν ἢ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτήν, κακῶς
32 εἰδότες ὡς οὔτε πρὸς χρηματισμὸν οὔτε πρὸς
δόξαν οὔτε πρὸς ἃ δεῖ πράττειν οὔθ' ὅλως πρὸς
εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδὲν ἂν συμβάλοιτο τηλικαύτην

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[a] In the Confederacy of Delos the quotas paid to Athens to support the league were termed *φόροι*, which, when Athens made it compulsory, came to have the invidious meaning "tribute moneys." In the New Naval League, the term *συντάξεις*, contributions, was substituted. *Cf. Antid.* 123 and *Areop.* 2.

[b] To the Common Council of the allies, *τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν συμμάχων*, which met in Athens.

thing which has happened to our city; for we think that, if we sail the sea with many triremes and compel the various states to pay contributions[a] and send representatives[b] to Athens, we have accomplished something to the purpose. But in fact, we have been completely misled as to the truth; for of the hopes which we cherished not one has been fulfilled; on the contrary, we have reaped from them hatreds and wars and great expense. And this was to be expected; for in former times as the result of such meddlesomeness we were placed in the utmost peril,[c] while as the result of keeping our city in the path of justice and of giving aid to the oppressed and of not coveting the possessions of others we were given the hegemony by the willing consent of the Hellenes[d]—considerations which now and for a long time past, without reason and with utter recklessness, we have treated with contempt. For some have gone to such an extreme of folly as to hold the view that, while injustice is reprehensible, it is, nevertheless, profitable and advantageous in our lives day by day, and that, while justice is estimable, it is for all that disadvantageous and more capable of benefiting others than of helping those who practise it.[e] They fail to see that nothing in the world can contribute so powerfully to material gain, to good repute, to right action, in a word, to happiness, as virtue and the

[c] At the end of the Peloponnesian War, which was the end of the Confederacy of Delos and of the Empire of Athens.

[d] In 478 B.C., when the Confederacy of Delos (see *Panath.* 67 ff. and notes) was formed, Thucydides states that the Ionian Greeks came to Athens and asked her to take the hegemony. See i. 95, 96. *Cf. Paneg.* 72.

[e] *Cf. Nicocles* 59; Plato, *Republic* 392 B.

δύναμιν ὅσην περ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ μέρη ταύτης. τοῖς γὰρ ἀγαθοῖς οἷς ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, τούτοις κτώμεθα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὠφελείας, ὧν δεόμενοι τυγχάνομεν· ὥσθ' οἱ τῆς αὑτῶν διανοίας ἀμελοῦντες λελήθασι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἅμα τοῦ τε φρονεῖν ἄμεινον καὶ τοῦ πράττειν βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων ὀλιγωροῦντες.

33 Θαυμάζω δ' εἴ τις οἴεται τοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἀσκοῦντας καρτερεῖν καὶ μένειν ἐν τούτοις ἐλπίζοντας ἔλαττον ἕξειν τῶν πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡγουμένους καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ παρ'
[166] ἀνθρώποις πλέον οἴσεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πέπεισμαι τούτους μόνους ὧν δεῖ πλεονεκτεῖν,
34 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὧν οὐ βέλτιόν ἐστιν. ὁρῶ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν τὴν ἀδικίαν προτιμῶντας καὶ τὸ λαβεῖν τι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν νομίζοντας ὅμοια πάσχοντας τοῖς δελεαζομένοις τῶν ζώων, καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπολαύοντας ὧν ἂν λάβωσιν, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ μετ' εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ζῶντας ἔν τε τοῖς παροῦσι χρόνοις ἀσφαλῶς διάγοντας καὶ περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντας.

35 Καὶ ταῦτ' εἰ μὴ κατὰ πάντων οὕτως εἴθισται συμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τό γ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦτον γίγνεται τὸν τρόπον. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας,

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[a] Literally, virtue and its parts. The particular virtues mentioned by Isocrates are piety, justice, and moderation. See 63.

[b] *Cf. Antid.* 290; Socrates in Plato, *Apology* 30 A, B: "I go about doing nothing else than trying to persuade you, young and old, not to care for your bodies nor for your possessions before nor even as much as you care for your

qualities of virtue.[a] For it is by the good qualities which we have in our souls that we acquire also the other advantages of which we stand in need.[b] So that those who have no care for their own state of mind are unwittingly disparaging the means of attaining at the same time to greater wisdom and to greater well-being.

But I marvel if anyone thinks that those who practise piety and justice remain constant and steadfast in these virtues because they expect to be worse off than the wicked and not because they consider that both among gods and among men[c] they will have the advantage over others. I, for my part, am persuaded that they and they alone gain advantage in the true sense, while the others gain advantage only in the baser sense of that term. For I observe that those who prefer the way of injustice, thinking it the greatest good fortune to seize something that belongs to others, are in like case with animals which are lured by a bait, at the first deriving pleasure from what they seize, but the moment after finding themselves in desperate straits, while those who live a life of piety and justice pass their days in security for the present and have sweeter hopes for all eternity.[d]

But if this is not wont to happen in all cases, nevertheless it does, for the most part, come out in this way. And it behoves intelligent men, since they

soul that it may be the best possible, saying to you that not from your possessions does virtue spring, but from virtue spring possessions and all other good things to mankind in private and in public life." For this as a sound principle of foreign policy see *Panath.* 185 ff.

[c] *Cf. Nicocles* 2.

[d] See *To Demonicus* 39 and note.

ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέλλον ἀεὶ συνοίσειν οὐ καθορῶμεν, τὸ πολλάκις ὠφελοῦν, τοῦτο φαίνεσθαι προαιρουμένους. πάντων δ' ἀλογώτατον πεπόνθασιν ὅσοι κάλλιον μὲν ἐπιτήδευμα νομίζουσιν εἶναι καὶ θεοφιλέστερον τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἀδικίας, χεῖρον δ' οἴονται βιώσεσθαι τοὺς ταύτῃ χρωμένους τῶν τὴν πονηρίαν προῃρημένων.

36 Ἠβουλόμην δ' ἄν, ὥσπερ πρόχειρόν ἐστιν ἐπ-
αινέσαι τὴν ἀρετήν, οὕτω ῥᾴδιον εἶναι πεῖσαι τοὺς
ἀκούοντας ἀσκεῖν αὐτήν· νῦν δὲ δέδοικα μὴ μάτην
τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγω. διεφθάρμεθα γὰρ πολὺν ἤδη
χρόνον ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ φενακίζειν
δυναμένων, οἳ τοσοῦτον τοῦ πλήθους καταπε-
φρονήκασιν ὥσθ', ὁπόταν βουληθῶσι πόλεμον πρός
τινας ἐξενεγκεῖν, αὐτοὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντες
λέγειν τολμῶσιν ὡς χρὴ τοὺς προγόνους μιμεῖσθαι,
καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καταγελωμένους
μηδὲ τὴν θάλατταν πλέοντας τοὺς μὴ τὰς συν-
37 τάξεις ἐθέλοντας ἡμῖν ὑποτελεῖν. ἡδέως ἂν οὖν
αὐτῶν πυθοίμην, τίσιν ἡμᾶς τῶν προγεγενημένων
κελεύουσιν ὁμοίους γίγνεσθαι, πότερον τοῖς περὶ
τὰ Περσικὰ γενομένοις, ἢ τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου
τοῦ Δεκελεικοῦ τὴν πόλιν διοικήσασιν; εἰ μὲν
γὰρ τούτοις, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ συμβουλεύουσιν ἡμῖν
38 πάλιν περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύειν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς
[167] ἐν Μαραθῶνι τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσασι καὶ τοῖς
πρὸ τούτων γενομένοις, πῶς οὐ πάντων ἀναισχυν-
τότατοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, εἰ τοὺς τότε πολι-

[a] That is, bribed to speak. See 50 and note.

[b] See 75.

[c] This term is frequently used to denote the last decade of the Peloponnesian War, from the occupation of the fort

cannot see clearly what will always be to their advantage, to show to the world that they prefer that which is generally beneficial. On the other hand, they are of all men most afflicted with unreason who concede that justice is a way of life more noble and more pleasing to the gods than injustice but at the same time believe that those who follow it will live in worse case than those who have chosen the way of evil.

I could wish that, even as to praise virtue is a facile theme, so it were easy to persuade hearers to practise it. But as things are I am afraid that I may be expressing such sentiments to no purpose. For we have been depraved for a long time by men whose only ability is to cheat and delude—men who have held the people in such contempt that whenever they wish to bring about a state of war with any city, these very men who are paid [a] for what they say have the audacity to tell us that we should follow the example of our ancestors and not allow ourselves to be made a laughing-stock nor permit those Hellenes to sail the sea who are unwilling to pay us their contributions. Now I should be glad if they would inform me what ancestors they would have us imitate. Do they mean those who lived at the time of the Persian Wars [b] or those who governed the city before the Decelean War [c]? If they mean the latter then they are simply advising us to run the risk once again of being enslaved [d]; but if they mean those who at Marathon conquered the barbarians, then they are of all men the most brazen, if, that is to say, they

of Decelea near Athens by the Spartans in 413 B.C. *Cf.* 84. During this period the affairs of Athens went from bad to worse.

[d] As at the end of the Peloponnesian War. *Cf.* 78.

τευομένους ἐπαινοῦντες τἀναντία πράττειν ἐκείνοις
πείθουσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἐξαμαρτάνειν περὶ ὧν
ἀπορῶ τί ποιήσω, πότερα χρήσωμαι ταῖς ἀληθείαις
ὥσπερ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἢ κατασιωπήσω, δείσας
τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν; δοκεῖ μὲν γάρ μοι
βέλτιον εἶναι διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὁρῶ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς
χαλεπώτερον διατιθεμένους πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας
ἢ πρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν κακῶν γεγενημένους.
39 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ αἰσχυνθείην ἄν, εἰ φανείην μᾶλλον
φροντίζων τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ δόξης ἢ τῆς κοινῆς σωτη-
ρίας. ἐμὸν μὲν οὖν ἔργον ἐστί, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
τῶν κηδομένων τῆς πόλεως, προαιρεῖσθαι τῶν
λόγων μὴ τοὺς ἡδίστους ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὠφελιμωτά-
τους· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο γιγνώσκειν,
ὅτι τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσημάτων πολλαὶ
θεραπεῖαι καὶ παντοδαπαὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς εὕρηνται,
ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἀγνοούσαις καὶ γεμούσαις
πονηρῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄλλο φάρμακον
πλὴν λόγος ὁ τολμῶν τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις ἐπιπλήτ-
40 τειν, ἔπειθ᾽ ὅτι καταγέλαστόν ἐστι τὰς μὲν καύσεις
καὶ τὰς τομὰς τῶν ἰατρῶν ὑπομένειν, ἵνα πλειόνων
ἀλγηδόνων ἀπαλλαγῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ λόγους ἀποδοκι-
μάζειν πρὶν εἰδέναι σαφῶς εἰ τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν
δύναμιν ὥστ᾽ ὠφελῆσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας.
41 Τούτου δ᾽ ἕνεκα ταῦτα προεῖπον, ὅτι περὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν
ἀνειμένως μέλλω τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς
ὑμᾶς. τίς γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ἐπελθὼν καὶ μήπω συν-

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[a] *Cf.* Aeschylus, *Prom. Bound* 378:
ψυχῆς νοσούσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι.

[b] *Cf. Paneg.* 133.

praise those who governed Athens at that time and in the same breath would persuade us to act in a manner contrary to theirs and to commit blunders so gross that I am at a loss what I should do—whether I should speak the truth as on all other occasions or be silent out of fear of making myself odious to you. For while it seems to me the better course to discuss your blunders, I observe that you are more resentful towards those who take you to task than towards those who are the authors of your misfortunes. Nevertheless I should be ashamed if I showed that I am more concerned about my own reputation than about the public safety. It is, therefore, my duty and the duty of all who care about the welfare of the state to choose, not those discourses which are agreeable to you, but those which are profitable for you to hear. And you, for your part, ought to realize, in the first place, that while many treatments of all kinds have been discovered by physicians for the ills of our bodies, there exists no remedy for souls which are ignorant of the truth and filled with base desires other than the kind of discourse[a] which boldly rebukes the sins which they commit, and, in the second place, that it is absurd to submit to the cauteries and cuttings of physicians in order that we may be relieved of greater pains and yet refuse to hear discourses before knowing clearly whether or not they have the power to benefit their hearers.

I have said these things at the outset because in the rest of my discourse I am going to speak without reserve and with complete frankness. For suppose that a stranger from another part of the world were to come to Athens,[b] having had no time to be tainted

διεφθαρμένος ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς τοῖς γιγνομένοις, οὐκ ἂν μαίνεσθαι καὶ παραφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς νομίσειεν, οἳ φιλοτιμούμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἐγκωμιάζειν ἀξιοῦμεν,[1] οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν
42 ἐκείνοις πράττομεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμοῦντες διετέλεσαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας
[168] τὸν βίον ποριζομένους ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἠγάγομεν· κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ἐλευθεροῦντες τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας καὶ βοηθοῦντες αὐταῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἠξιώθησαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ καταδουλούμενοι καὶ τἀναντία τοῖς τότε πράττοντες ἀγανακτοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν τιμὴν ἐκείνοις ἕξο-
43 μεν, οἳ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελείμμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γενομένων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας τήν τε πατρίδα τὴν αὑτῶν ἐκλιπεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, καὶ μαχόμενοι καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν πλεονεξίας κινδυνεύειν ἀξιοῦμεν,
44 ἀλλ' ἄρχειν μὲν ἁπάντων ζητοῦμεν, στρατεύεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐθέλομεν, καὶ πόλεμον μὲν μικροῦ δεῖν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρούμεθα, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀσκοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους τοὺς μὲν ἀπόλιδας τοὺς δ' αὐτομόλους τοὺς δ' ἐκ

[1] ἀξιοῦμεν Dionysius of Halicarnassus : ἔχομεν MSS.

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[a] The Athenian general Chares employed Asiatic mercenaries in the war against the Athenian allies.
[b] *Cf. Paneg.* 83.
[c] By conquest of the revolting allies.
[d] See *Paneg.* 96.

with our depravity, but brought suddenly face to face with what goes on here, would he not think that we are mad and bereft of our senses, seeing that we plume ourselves upon the deeds of our ancestors and think fit to eulogize our city by dwelling upon the achievements of their time and yet act in no respect like them but do the very opposite? For while they waged war without ceasing in behalf of the Hellenes against the barbarians, we removed from their homes those who derive their livelihood from Asia and led them against the Hellenes;[a] and while they liberated the cities of Hellas[b] and lent them their aid and so were adjudged worthy of the hegemony, we seek to enslave these cities[c] and pursue a policy the very opposite of theirs and then feel aggrieved that we are not held in like honour with them—we who fall so far short of those who lived in those days both in our deeds and in our thoughts that, whereas they brought themselves to abandon their country[d] for the sake of saving the other Hellenes and fought and conquered the barbarians both on the land and on the sea,[e] we do not see fit to run any risk even for our own advantage; on the contrary, although we seek to rule over all men, we are not willing to take the field ourselves,[f] and although we undertake to wage war upon, one might almost say, the whole world,[g] we do not train ourselves for war but employ instead vagabonds, deserters, and fugitives who have

[e] Especially the battles of Marathon and Salamis.

[f] The same complaint is repeatedly made by Demosthenes in the *Philippics* and the *Olynthiacs*.

[g] Between 363–355 B.C. Athens made war on Alexander of Thessaly, King Cotys in the Thracian Chersonnese, Amphipolis, Euboea, Chios, Byzantium, and Potidaea—to mention only the chief campaigns.

τῶν ἄλλων κακουργιῶν συνερρυηκότας, οἷς ὁπόταν
τις διδῷ πλείω μισθόν, μετ' ἐκείνων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
45 ἀκολουθήσουσιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶ-
μεν ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν παίδων τῶν ἡμετέρων, εἰ
περί τινας ἐξαμάρτοιεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσαιμεν δίκας
ὑποσχεῖν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἁρπαγῆς καὶ βίας
καὶ παρανομίας μελλόντων τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐφ'
ἡμᾶς ἥξειν οὐχ ὅπως ἀγανακτοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
χαίρομεν ὅταν ἀκούσωμεν αὐτούς τοιοῦτόν τι δια-
46 πεπραγμένους. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ μωρίας ἐληλύθαμεν,
ὥστ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐνδεεῖς τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐσμέν,
ξενοτροφεῖν δ' ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, καὶ τοὺς συμ-
μάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους αὐτῶν ἰδίους λυμαινόμεθα
καὶ δασμολογοῦμεν, ἵνα τοῖς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων
47 κοινοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκπορίζωμεν. τοσούτῳ
δὲ χείρους ἐσμὲν τῶν προγόνων, οὐ μόνον τῶν
εὐδοκιμησάντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μισηθέντων, ὅσον
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰ πολεμεῖν πρός τινας ψηφίσαιντο,
μεστῆς οὔσης ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου τῆς ἀκροπό-
λεως ὅμως ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων τοῖς αὐτῶν σώμασιν
ᾤοντο δεῖν κινδυνεύειν, ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς τοσαύτην
ἀπορίαν ἐληλυθότες καὶ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες
48 ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας μισθωτοῖς χρώμεθα τοῖς
[169] στρατοπέδοις. καὶ τότε μὲν εἰ τριήρεις πληροῖεν,

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[a] See Introduction to the *Panegyricus*, Vol. I. p. 117.

[b] The Athenian general Chares with his mercenary troops actually enlisted during the Social War in the service of the Persian Satrap Artabazus, who paid them well. See *Areop.* 8, note ; Demosth. first *Philippic* 24.

[c] See General Introd. p. xxxix, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

[d] These troops, whose only thought was for pay or plunder, made no difference between foes and friends. See

thronged together here in consequence of other misdemeanours,[a] who, whenever others offer them higher pay, will follow their leadership against us.[b] But, for all that, we are so enamoured of these mercenaries that while we would not willingly assume the responsibility for the acts of our own children if they offended against anyone, yet for the brigandage, the violence, and the lawlessness of these men,[c] the blame for which is bound to be laid at our door, not only do we feel no regret, but we actually rejoice whenever we hear that they have perpetrated any such atrocity. And we have reached such a degree of imbecility that, although we are ourselves in need of the necessities of daily existence, we have undertaken to support mercenary troops and we do violence to our own allies and extort money from them in order to provide pay for the common enemies of all mankind.[d] And so far are we inferior to our ancestors, both those who enjoyed the esteem of the Hellenes and those who incurred their hatred,[e] that whereas they, when they resolved to wage war against any state, deemed it their duty, notwithstanding that the Acropolis was stored with silver and gold,[f] to face danger in their own persons in support of their resolutions, we, on the other hand, notwithstanding that we are in such extreme poverty[g] and are so many in number, employ, as does the great King, mercenary armies! In those days, when they manned their triremes, they put on board crews

Epist. ix. 9, 10. Demosthenes also (xxiii. 139) calls them κοινοὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν ἐχθροί.

[e] The distinction is between those who were awarded the hegemony and those who later turned the hegemony into an empire maintained by force.

[f] See 126. [g] See 19 and *Areop.* 54.

τοὺς μὲν ξένους καὶ τοὺς δούλους ναύτας εἰσεβίβαζον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας μεθ' ὅπλων ἐξέπεμπον· νῦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ὁπλίταις χρώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐλαύνειν ἀναγκάζομεν, ὥσθ' ὁπόταν ἀποβαίνωσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν ἄρχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοῦντες ὑπηρέσιον ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τὰς φύσεις ὄντες οἵους ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διῆλθον, μεθ' ὅπλων κινδυνεύουσιν.

49 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄν τις ἰδὼν καλῶς διοικούμενα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θαρρήσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τούτοις μάλιστ' ἀγανακτήσειεν; οἵτινες αὐτόχθονες μὲν εἶναί φαμεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην προτέραν οἰκισθῆναι τῶν ἄλλων, προσῆκον δ' ἡμᾶς ἅπασιν εἶναι παράδειγμα τοῦ καλῶς καὶ τεταγμένως πολιτεύεσθαι, χεῖρον καὶ ταραχωδέστερον τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν διοικοῦμεν τῶν ἄρτι
50 τὰς πόλεις οἰκιζόντων, καὶ σεμνυνόμεθα μὲν καὶ μέγα φρονοῦμεν ἐπὶ τῷ βέλτιον γεγονέναι τῶν ἄλλων, ῥᾷδιον δὲ μεταδίδομεν τοῖς βουλομένοις ταύτης τῆς εὐγενείας ἢ Τριβαλλοὶ καὶ Λευκανοὶ τῆς δυσγενείας· πλείστους δὲ τιθέμενοι νόμους οὕτως ὀλίγον αὐτῶν φροντίζομεν, ἓν γὰρ ἀκούσαντες γνώσεσθε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστε θανάτου τῆς ζημίας ἐπικειμένης, ἤν τις ἁλῷ δεκάζων, τοὺς τοῦτο φανερώτατα ποιοῦντας στρα-

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[a] See *Areop.* 54, note.

[b] Pads for the rowers' benches.

[c] See *Paneg.* 23, 24.

[d] See *Paneg.* 37.

[e] The Athenians were less conservative in the matter of citizenship than other states. Cleisthenes gave citizenship to the resident aliens in Athens at the time of his reforms. In 427 citizenship was conferred upon all the people of

of foreigners and slaves but sent out citizens to fight under heavy arms. Now, however, we use mercenaries as heavy-armed troops but compel citizens to row the ships,[a] with the result that when they land in hostile territory these men, who claim the right to rule over the Hellenes, disembark with their cushions [b] under their arms, while men who are of the character which I have just described take the field with shield and spear!

However, if one could see that the domestic policy of Athens was well managed he might be of good cheer as to our other affairs. But is it not about this very thing that he would feel most aggrieved? For we assert that we are sprung from our very soil [c] and that our city was founded before all others,[d] but although we ought to be an example to all the world of good and orderly government, we manage our state in a worse manner and with more disorder than those who are just founding their cities. We glory and take great pride in being better born than the rest but we are readier to share this noble birthright with any who desire it [e] than are the Triballians or the Leucanians [f] to share their ignoble origin. We pass a multitude of laws,[g] but we care so little about them (for if I give you a single instance you will be able to judge of the others as well) that, although we have prescribed the penalty of death for anyone who is convicted of bribery, we elect men who are

Plataeae. From time to time numerous individuals were admitted to this privilege.

[f] The Triballians were a savage tribe in the interior of Thrace (see *Panath.* 227); the Lucanians a rude people, noted for their ferocity, in Southern Italy.

[g] See *Areop.* 40, 41.

*τηγοὺς χειροτονοῦμεν, καὶ τὸν πλείστους διαφθεῖραι
τῶν πολιτῶν δυνηθέντα, τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα
51 τῶν πραγμάτων καθίσταμεν· σπουδάζοντες δὲ περὶ
τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκ ἧττον ἢ περὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν
ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰδότες ἐν
μὲν ταῖς ἡσυχίαις καὶ ταῖς ἀσφαλείαις αὐξανομένην
καὶ διαμένουσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις δὶς ἤδη κατα-
λυθεῖσαν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμοῦντας
ὡς πρὸς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς ὄντας δυσκόλως ἔχομεν,
τοὺς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῦντας ὡς τῆς δημοκρατίας
52 κηδομένους εὔνους εἶναι νομίζομεν· ἐμπειρότατοι
δὲ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων ὄντες οὕτως ἀλογίστως
[170] ἔχομεν, ὥστε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας
οὐ ταὐτὰ γιγνώσκομεν, ἀλλ' ὧν μὲν πρὶν εἰς τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν ἀναβῆναι κατηγοροῦμεν, ταῦτα συν-
ελθόντες χειροτονοῦμεν, οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον δια-
λιπόντες τοῖς ἐνθάδε ψηφισθεῖσιν, ἐπειδὰν ἀπίωμεν,
πάλιν ἐπιτιμῶμεν· προσποιούμενοι δὲ σοφώτατοι
τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι τοιούτοις χρώμεθα συμβούλοις,
ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν καταφρονήσειεν, καὶ
τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους κυρίους ἁπάντων τῶν κοινῶν
καθίσταμεν, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδὲν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπι-
53 τρέψειεν. ὃ δὲ πάντων σχετλιώτατον· οὓς γὰρ ὁμο-
λογήσαιμεν ἂν πονηροτάτους εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν,*

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[a] This seems to be a covert attack upon Chares, who according to Theopompus (in Athenaeus xii. 532) paid money to the orators to advocate a war policy, especially to the orator Aristophon, who may be alluded to in 36 and in this paragraph. Chares in the field and Aristophon on the rostrum were the leaders of Athenian jingoism at this time.

[b] By the oligarchical revolution of 411 B.C., when the government of the Four Hundred was established, and that of 404 B.C., when the reign of the Thirty began.

most flagrantly guilty of this crime as our generals [a] and we pick out the man who has been able to deprave the greatest number of our citizens and place him in charge of the most important affairs. We are concerned about our polity no less than about the safety of the whole state and we know that our democracy flourishes and endures in times of peace and security while in times of war it has twice already been overthrown,[b] but we are hostile to those who desire peace as if suspecting them of favouring oligarchy,[c] while we are friendly to those who advocate war as if assured of their devotion to democracy. We are versed beyond all others in discourse and in the conduct of affairs, but we are so devoid of reason that we do not hold the same views about the same question on the same day; on the contrary, the things which we condemn before we enter the assembly are the very things which we vote for when we are in session, and again a little later when we depart to our homes we disapprove of the things which we resolved upon here.[d] We pretend that we are the wisest of the Hellenes, but we employ the kind of advisers whom no one could fail to despise, and we place these very same men in control of all our public interests to whom no one would entrust a single one of his private affairs. But, what is most reprehensible of all, we regard those whom all would acknowledge to be the most depraved of our citizens [e]

[c] For example, Timotheus, who was no flatterer. See *Antid.* 131 ff. *Cf. Antid.* 318.

[d] Aristophanes (*Acharnians* 630) ridicules the Athenians for being quick in making up and in changing their minds. *Cf. Ecclesiazusae* 797.

[e] *Cf. Antid.* 316 ff. and notes; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 730 ff.

τούτους πιστοτάτους φύλακας ἡγούμεθα τῆς πολι-
τείας εἶναι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μετοίκους τοιούτους
εἶναι νομίζομεν, οἵους περ ἂν τοὺς προστάτας
νέμωσιν, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ οἰόμεθα τὴν αὐτὴν λήψεσθαι
54 δόξαν τοῖς προεστῶσιν ἡμῶν. τοσοῦτον δὲ δια-
φέρομεν τῶν προγόνων, ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς
προστάτας τε τῆς πόλεως ἐποιοῦντο καὶ στρα-
τηγοὺς ᾑροῦντο, νομίζοντες τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεῦσαι δυνάμενον, τὸν αὐτὸν
τοῦτον ἄριστ' ἂν βουλεύσασθαι καὶ καθ' αὑτὸν γε-
νόμενον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον τούτων ποιοῦμεν·
55 οἷς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβούλοις χρώ-
μεθα, τούτους μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν στρατηγοὺς χειρο-
τονεῖν ὡς νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντας, οἷς δ' οὐδεὶς ἂν οὔτε
περὶ τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν συμ-
βουλεύσαιτο, τούτους δ' αὐτοκράτορας ἐκπέμπομεν
ὡς ἐκεῖ σοφωτέρους ἐσομένους καὶ ῥᾷον βουλευσο-
μένους περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἢ περὶ
56 τῶν ἐνθάδε προτιθεμένων. λέγω δὲ ταῦτ' οὐ κατὰ
πάντων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐνόχων τοῖς λεγομένοις
ὄντων. ἐπιλίποι δ' ἄν με τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς
ἡμέρας, εἰ πάσας τὰς πλημμελείας τὰς ἐν τοῖς
πράγμασιν ἐγγεγενημένας ἐξετάζειν ἐπιχειροίην.
57 Τάχ' οὖν ἄν τις τῶν σφόδρα τοῖς λεγομένοις
ἐνόχων ὄντων ἀγανακτήσας ἐρωτήσειε "πῶς,

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[a] Only through a citizen to represent him as his "patron" before the law could a foreign resident enjoy the protection of the state. The word for patron, προστάτης, was also used for the leader of the General Assembly. Hence the play on the word, which can be reproduced only by a free rendering in English.

as the most trustworthy guardians of our polity; and we judge the character of our alien residents by the kind of patrons [a] they select to represent them, but do not expect that we shall be judged by the character of those who represent us at the head of the state. So far are we different from our ancestors that whereas they chose the same men to preside over the city and to be generals in the field,[b] since they believed that one who could give the best counsel on this platform would best take counsel with himself when alone, we ourselves do the very opposite; for the men whose counsels we follow in matters of the greatest importance—these we do not see fit to elect as our generals, as if distrusting their intelligence, but men whose counsel no one would seek either on his own business or on that of the state—these we send into the field with unlimited authority,[c] as if expecting that they will be wiser abroad than at home and will find it easier to take counsel on questions pertaining to the Hellenes than on those which are proposed for consideration here. I say these things, not with reference to all, but with reference to those only who are open to the charges which I have made. However, the remainder of the day would not suffice me if I should attempt to review all the errors which have crept into our conduct of affairs.

But someone among those who are hard hit by my strictures might take offence and demand of me,

[b] For example, Pericles, who personally led a number of expeditions.

[c] Obviously a jibe at Chares (the enemy of Isocrates' pupil and friend Timotheus. See *Antid.* 116, note) who was sent out as στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. See Demosth. *Aristocr.* 173.

εἴπερ οὕτω κακῶς βουλευόμεθα, σωζόμεθα καὶ
δύναμιν οὐδεμιᾶς πόλεως ἐλάττω κεκτημένοι
[171] τυγχάνομεν;" ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀποκριναίμην
ἂν ὅτι τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἔχομεν οὐδὲν βέλτιον
58 ἡμῶν φρονοῦντας. εἰ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ἣν
ἐνίκησαν Θηβαῖοι Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
ἐλευθερώσαντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους ποιήσαντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον,
ἡμεῖς δὲ τοιαῦτ' ἐξημαρτάνομεν, οὔτ' ἂν οὗτος
ἔσχε ταύτην ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ἡμεῖς τ'
ἂν ἔγνωμεν ὅσῳ κρεῖττόν ἐστι τὸ σωφρονεῖν τοῦ
59 πολυπραγμονεῖν. νῦν δ' ἐνταῦθα τὰ πράγματα
περιέστηκεν, ὥστε Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἡμᾶς σῴζουσιν,
ἡμεῖς δὲ Θηβαίους, καὶ συμμάχους ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
ἡμῖν ποιοῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐκείνοις. ὥστ' εἰ νοῦν
ἔχοιμεν, ἀλλήλοις ἂν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀργύριον
παρέχοιμεν· ὁπότεροι γὰρ ἂν πλεονάκις συλλεγῶσιν,
οὗτοι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἄμεινον πράττειν ποιοῦσιν.
60 χρὴ δὲ τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ λογίζεσθαι δυναμένους οὐκ
ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἁμαρτήμασι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν
τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς αὑτῶν πράγμασι καὶ
ταῖς αὑτῶν διανοίαις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων
ἀμαθίαν συμβαῖνον ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν τυχὸν ἂν παύσαιτο
καὶ λάβοι μεταβολήν, τὸ δὲ δι' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς
γιγνόμενον βεβαιοτέρως ἂν ἔχοι καὶ μᾶλλον παρα-
μείνειεν ἡμῖν.

61 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς εἰκῇ τὰς ἐπιλήψεις ποιου-
μένους οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀντειπεῖν· εἰ δὲ δή τίς μοι
παραστὰς τῶν ἐπιεικέστερον διακειμένων ἀληθῆ

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[a] The battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C., the end of the Spartan supremacy and the beginning of the Theban hegemony, which lasted but nine years.
[b] See *Philip* 53 ff.

"How is it, if indeed we are so badly advised, that we are safe and hold a power which is inferior to that of no other city?" I, for my part, would reply to this question that we have in our adversaries men who are no more prudent than ourselves. For example, if the Thebans, after the battle which they won over the Lacedaemonians,[a] had contented themselves with liberating the Peloponnesus and making the other Hellenes independent[b] and had thenceforth pursued peace, while we continued to make such blunders, then neither could this man have asked such a question nor could we ourselves have failed to realize how much better moderation is than meddlesomeness. But now matters have taken such a turn that the Thebans are saving us and we them, and they are procuring allies for us and we for them.[c] So that if we were sensible we should supply each other with money for our general assemblies; for the oftener we meet to deliberate the more do we promote the success of our rivals. But those among us who are able to exercise even a modicum of reason ought not to rest our hopes of safety upon the blunders of our enemies but upon our own management of affairs and upon our own judgement. For the good fortune which results to us from their stupidity might perhaps cease or change to the opposite, whereas that which comes about because of our own efforts will be more certain and more enduring.

Now it is not difficult to reply to those who take us to task without reason. But if anyone among those who are more fair-minded were to confront me

[c] Not intentionally, but by our mistakes.

μὲν λέγειν με προσομολογήσειε καὶ προσηκόντως ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς γιγνομένοις, δίκαιον δ' εἶναι φαίη τοὺς ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ νουθετοῦντας μὴ μόνον κατηγορεῖν
62 τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμβουλεύειν τίνων ἀπεχόμενοι καὶ ποίων ὀρεγόμενοι παυσαίμεθ' ἂν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀπορεῖν ἄν με ποιήσειεν ἀποκρίσεως, οὐκ ἀληθοῦς καὶ συμφερούσης, ἀλλ' ἀρεσκούσης ὑμῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδή περ ἀποκεκαλυμμένως ὥρμημαι λέγειν, οὐκ ἀποκνητέον ἀποφήνασθαι καὶ περὶ τούτων.

63 Ἃ μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν δεῖ τοῖς μέλλουσιν εὐδαιμονήσειν, τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ
[172] τὴν δικαιοσύνην[1] καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν· ὡς δ' ἂν τάχιστα πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτοι γενέσθαι παιδευθεῖμεν, ἀληθὲς μέν ἐστι τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, ἴσως δ' ἂν ἀκούσασιν ὑμῖν δεινὸν εἶναι δόξειε καὶ παρὰ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ-
64 ηλλαγμένον διανοίας. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμᾶς ἄμεινον οἰκήσειν καὶ βελτίους αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς πράξεις ἐπιδώσειν, ἢν παυσώμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιθυμοῦντες. αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ καὶ νῦν εἰς ταραχὴν ἡμᾶς καθιστᾶσα, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκείνην καταλύσασα μεθ' ἧς οἱ πρόγονοι ζῶντες εὐδαιμονέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦσαν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἁπάντων αἰτία τῶν κακῶν ὧν αὐτοί τ' ἔχομεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχομεν.

[1] καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην most MSS.: om. ΓΕ.

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[a] See also Demosth. first *Olynthiac* 16.
[b] See 31-35.

and object, while conceding that I speak the truth and am correct in condemning the things which are taking place, that we have a right to expect of those who seek to admonish us with friendly purpose that they should not only denounce what has been done [a] but should also counsel us what to abstain from and what to strive for in order to cease from this way of thinking and from making such blunders, his objection would place me at a loss, not for a true answer and one that would be profitable, but for one that would be acceptable to you. But since I have set out to speak openly I must not shrink from disclosing what I think on these matters also.

Well then, the qualities which we must possess as a foundation if we are to be happy and prosperous, namely, piety and moderation and justice and virtue in all its phases, I mentioned a moment ago.[b] But as to the means by which we may most speedily be taught to attain to such a character, what I am going to say will probably seem repellent to you when you have heard it as well as far removed from the opinions held by the rest of the world. For I, for my part, consider that we shall manage our city to better advantage and be ourselves better men and go forward in all our undertakings if we stop setting our hearts on the empire of the sea. For it is this which plunged us into our present state of disorder, which overthrew that democratic government [c] under which our ancestors lived and were the happiest of the Hellenes, and which is the cause, one might almost say, of all the ills which we both suffer ourselves and inflict upon the rest of the Hellenes.

[c] Established by Solon and Cleisthenes, who are much praised in the *Areopagiticus*.

65 Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι χαλεπόν ἐστι δυναστείας ὑπὸ
πάντων ἐρωμένης καὶ περιμαχήτου γεγενημένης
κατηγοροῦντα δοκεῖν ἀνεκτόν τι λέγειν· ὅμως δ᾽
ἐπειδή περ ὑπεμείνατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους λόγους,
ἀληθεῖς μὲν ὄντας φιλαπεχθήμονας δέ, καὶ τοῦτον
66 ὑμῶν ἀνασχέσθαι δέομαι, καὶ μὴ καταγνῶναί μου
τοιαύτην μανίαν, ὡς ἄρ᾽ ἐγὼ προειλόμην ἂν
διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πραγμάτων οὕτω
παραδόξων, εἰ μή τι λέγειν ἀληθὲς εἶχον περὶ
αὐτῶν. νῦν δ᾽ οἶμαι πᾶσι φανερὸν ποιήσειν ὡς
οὔτε δικαίας ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμοῦμεν οὔτε γενέσθαι
δυνατῆς οὔτε συμφερούσης ἡμῖν.

67 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ δικαίας, παρ᾽ ὑμῶν μαθὼν ὑμᾶς
ἔχω διδάσκειν. ὅτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτην
εἶχον τὴν δύναμιν, ποίους λόγους οὐκ ἀνηλώσαμεν
κατηγοροῦντες μὲν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς, διεξιόντες
δ᾽ ὡς δίκαιόν ἐστιν αὐτονόμους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλ-
68 ληνας; τίνας δὲ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐλλογίμων οὐ
παρεκαλέσαμεν ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ
τούτων συστᾶσαν; πόσας δὲ πρεσβείας ὡς βασιλέα
τὸν μέγαν ἀπεστείλαμεν, διδαξούσας αὐτὸν ὡς
οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν οὔτε συμφέρον μίαν πόλιν
κυρίαν εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων; οὐ πρότερον δ᾽
ἐπαυσάμεθα πολεμοῦντες καὶ κινδυνεύοντες καὶ
[173] κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, πρὶν ἠθέλησαν
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιήσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας τὰς περὶ
τῆς αὐτονομίας.

69 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι τοὺς κρείττους τῶν
ἡττόνων ἄρχειν, ἐν ἐκείνοις τε τοῖς χρόνοις τυγ-

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[a] After 404 B.C.

[b] In 395, at Corinth, an anti-Spartan alliance was entered

I know, however, that it is difficult for one who attempts to denounce that imperial power which all the world lusts after and has waged many wars to obtain to impress his hearers as saying anything which is not intolerable. Nevertheless, since you have endured the other things which I have said, which, although true, are offensive, I beg you to be patient also with what I shall say upon this subject and not to impute to me the madness of having chosen to discourse to you on matters so contrary to the general opinion without having something true to say about them. Nay, I believe that I shall make it evident to all that we covet an empire which is neither just nor capable of being attained nor advantageous to ourselves.

Now that it is not just I can show you by lessons which I have learned from yourselves. For when the Lacedaemonians held this power,[a] what eloquence did we not expend in denouncing their rule, contending that it was just for the Hellenes to enjoy independence? What cities of repute did we not call upon to join the alliance [b] which was formed in this cause? How many embassies did we not dispatch to the great King [c] to convince him that it was neither just nor expedient for one state to dominate the Hellenes? Indeed we did not cease waging war and facing perils both by land and sea until the Lacedaemonians were willing to enter into the treaty which guaranteed our independence.[d]

At that time, then, we recognized the principle that it is not just for the stronger to rule over

into by Athens, Thebes, Argos, and Corinth. See Diodorus xiv. 82.

[c] That headed by Conon in 395 B.C. is known.

[d] The Peace of Antalcidas.

χάνομεν ἐγνωκότες, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτείας
τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν καθεστηκυίας· ὡς δ' οὐδ' ἂν δυνη-
θείημεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην καταστήσασθαι, ταχέως
οἶμαι δηλώσειν. ἣν γὰρ μετὰ μυρίων ταλάντων
οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἦμεν διαφυλάξαι, πῶς ἂν ταύτην ἐκ
τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας κτήσασθαι δυνηθεῖμεν,
ἄλλως τε καὶ χρώμενοι τοῖς ἤθεσιν οὐχ οἷς ἐλά-
70 βομεν ἀλλ' οἷς ἀπωλέσαμεν αὐτήν; ὡς τοίνυν
οὐδὲ δέξασθαι διδομένην τῇ πόλει συμφέρει,
δοκεῖτέ μοι τάχιστ' ἂν ἐκεῖθεν καταμαθεῖν.
μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων βούλομαι μικρὰ προ-
ειπεῖν· δέδοικα γὰρ μὴ διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς ἐπιτιμᾶν
δόξω τισὶ προῃρῆσθαι τῆς πόλεως κατηγορεῖν.

71 Ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπεχείρουν οὕτω διεξιέναι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, εἰκότως ἂν εἶχον τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους, οὐ διαβάλλειν ἑτέροις ἐπιθυμῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς βουλόμενος παῦσαι τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, περὶ ἧς ἅπας ὁ λόγος ἐστί, βεβαίως καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἀγαγεῖν.

72 Ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς νουθετοῦντας καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας τοῖς μὲν λόγοις χρῆσθαι παραπλησίοις, τὰς δὲ διανοίας ἔχειν ἀλλήλοις ὡς οἷόντ' ἐναντιωτάτας. ὥστε περὶ τῶν ταὐτὰ λεγόντων οὐκ ἀεὶ προσήκει τὴν αὐτὴν ὑμᾶς γνώμην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ λοιδοροῦντας μισεῖν ὡς κακόνους ὄντας τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ

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[a] That is, we recognized it as valid not only in our domestic relations but in our foreign policy.

[b] A round number. *Cf. Antid.* 234. In 126 he speaks of 8000. Thucydides (ii. 13. 3) states that 9700 talents was the largest amount ever stored on the Acropolis.

the weaker,[a] even as now we recognize it in the nature of the polity which has been established amongst ourselves. But that we could not, if we would, attain to this empire by conquest I think I shall quickly prove. For when, with the help of ten thousand talents,[b] we were not able to retain it, how can we acquire it in our present state of poverty, especially since we are now addicted, not to the ways of life by which we gained it, but to those by which we lost it? Furthermore, that it is not even for the advantage of the state to accept this empire, if it were offered to us, I think you will learn very quickly from what further I have to say. But first I want to say a word by way of leading up to this point, fearing that, on account of my many strictures, I may give the impression to some of you of having chosen to denounce our city.

If I were attempting to discourse in this manner before any others, I should naturally lay myself open to this charge. But now I am addressing myself to you, not with the wish that I may prejudice you in the eyes of others, but with the desire that I may cause you to make an end of such a policy and that Athens and the rest of the Hellenes may form a lasting peace.

But those who admonish and those who denounce cannot avoid using similar words, although their purposes are as opposite as they can be.[c] You ought not, therefore, to have the same feeling towards all who use the same language but, while abhorring those who revile you to your harm as inimical to the state, you ought to commend those who admonish

[c] *Cf. Paneg.* 130.

νουθετοῦντας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν
73 νομίζειν, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸν ἐν-
αργέστατα δυνάμενον δηλῶσαι τὰς πονηρὰς τῶν
πράξεων καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γιγνομέ-
νας· οὗτος γὰρ ἂν τάχιστα ποιήσειεν ὑμᾶς, μισή-
σαντας ἃ δεῖ, βελτιόνων ἐπιθυμῆσαι πραγμάτων.

Ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν λόγων τραχύτητος καὶ
τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν ῥηθήσεσθαι μελλόντων
ταῦτ' ἔχω λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὅθεν δ' ἀπέλιπον,
74 πάλιν ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔφασκον γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν
[174] κάλλιστ' ἂν ὑμᾶς καταμαθεῖν ὡς οὐ συμφέρει
λαβεῖν τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχήν, εἰ σκέψαισθε
τίνα τρόπον ἡ πόλις διέκειτο πρὶν τὴν δύναμιν
ταύτην κτήσασθαι, καὶ πῶς ἐπειδὴ κατέσχεν
αὐτήν· ἢν γὰρ ταῦτα παρ' ἄλληλα τῇ διανοίᾳ
θεωρήσητε, γνώσεσθ' ὅσων κακῶν αἰτία τῇ πόλει
γέγονεν.

75 Ἡ μὲν τοίνυν πολιτεία τοσούτῳ βελτίων ἦν καὶ
κρείττων ἡ τότε τῆς ὕστερον καταστάσης, ὅσῳ
περ Ἀριστείδης καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ Μιλτιάδης
ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν Ὑπερβόλου καὶ Κλεο-
φῶντος καὶ τῶν νῦν δημηγορούντων· τὸν δὲ δῆμον
εὑρήσετε τὸν τότε πολιτευόμενον οὐκ ἀργίας οὐδ'
76 ἀπορίας οὐδ' ἐλπίδων κενῶν ὄντα μεστόν, ἀλλὰ
νικᾶν μὲν δυνάμενον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἅπαντας τοὺς
εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλοντας, ἀριστείων δ' ἀξιού-
μενον ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κινδύνοις, οὕτω

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[a] Demosthenes (third *Olynthiac* 21 ff.) compares Aristides and Pericles with the present-day orators who say to the people: "What are your desires; what shall I propose; how can I please you?"

[b] Hyperbolus, successor to Cleon, the tanner. Aristophanes calls him πονηρός (*Peace* 684); Thucydides, μοχθηρός (viii. 73).

you for your good and to esteem them as the best of your fellow-citizens, and him most of all, even among them, who is able to point out most vividly the evils of your practices and the disasters which result from them. For such a man can soonest bring you to abhor what you should abhor and to set your hearts on better things.

These, then, are the things which I have to say in defence of my harshness both in the words which I have spoken and those which I am about to speak. I will now resume at the place where I left off. For I was on the point of saying that you could best learn that it is not to your advantage to obtain the empire of the sea if you should consider what was the condition of Athens before she acquired this power and what after she obtained it. For if you will examine one condition in contrast with the other you will see how many evils this power has brought upon the city.

Now the polity as it was in the earlier time was as much better and stronger than that which obtained later as Aristides and Themistocles and Miltiades [a] were better men than Hyperbolus [b] and Cleophon [c] and those who to-day harangue the people.[d] And you will find that the people who then governed the state were not given over to slackness and poverty and empty hopes,[e] but were able to conquer in battle all who invaded their territory;[f] that they were awarded the meed of valour [g] in the wars which they fought for the sake of Hellas; and that they were

[c] For Cleophon see 13, note *b*.

[d] Aristophon and Eubulus.

[e] *Cf.* "hopes from the platform," Demosthenes, first *Philippic* 45.

[f] See *Paneg.* 86.

[g] See *Paneg.* 99.

δὲ πιστευόμενον ὥστε τὰς πλείστας αὐτῷ τῶν
77 πόλεων ἑκούσας ἐγχειρίσαι σφᾶς αὐτάς. τούτων
δ' ὑπαρχόντων, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς πολιτείας τῆς παρὰ
πᾶσιν εὐδοκιμούσης ἐπὶ τοιαύτην ἀκολασίαν ἡ
δύναμις ἡμᾶς αὕτη προήγαγεν, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἂν
ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινέσειεν· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ νικᾶν τοὺς
ἐπιστρατεύοντας οὕτω τοὺς πολίτας ἐπαίδευσεν,
ὥστε μηδὲ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τολμᾶν ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς
78 πολεμίοις· ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ τῶν
συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τῆς δόξης τῆς
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοσοῦτον μῖσος
κατέστησεν, ὥστε παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρα-
ποδισθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν
ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολεμούντων εὐνουστέρων ἐτύχομεν ἢ
79 τῶν πρότερον ἡμῖν συμμάχων ὄντων. οἷς οὐκ ἂν
δικαίως ἐγκαλοῖμεν, ὅτι χαλεπῶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς
διετέθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ὑπάρχοντες ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι
καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες τοιαύτην γνώμην
ἔσχον περὶ ἡμᾶς· τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπέμεινε τὴν ἀσέλγειαν
τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἡμετέρων, οἳ συναγαγόντες ἐξ
ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς ἀργοτάτους καὶ τοὺς
ἁπασῶν τῶν πονηριῶν μετέχοντας, πληροῦντες
[175] τούτων τὰς τριήρεις, ἀπηχθάνοντο τοῖς Ἕλλησι,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις

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[a] See *Paneg.* 72.

[b] A rhetorical point. It was Pericles' policy in the Peloponnesian War to meet the enemy only on the sea and to keep on the defensive on land. He was bitterly criticized for keeping the Athenians cooped up within their walls while the Spartans invaded and ravaged their lands.

[c] See *Areop.* 6 and note.

so trusted that most of the states of their own free will placed themselves under their leadership.[a] But, notwithstanding these advantages, in place of a polity which was admired by all men this power has led us on to a state of licence which no one in the world could commend; in place of our habit of conquering those who took the field against us it has instilled into our citizens such ways that they have not the courage even to go out in front of the walls to meet the enemy;[b] and in place of the good will which was accorded us by our allies and of the good repute in which we were held by the rest of the Hellenes it brought us into such a degree of odium that Athens barely escaped being enslaved and would have suffered this fate had we not found the Lacedaemonians, who were at war with us from the first, more friendly than those who were formerly our allies[c]—not that we can have any just complaint against the latter for being obdurate towards us; for they were not aggressors but on the defensive, and came to have this feeling after suffering many grievous wrongs at our hands. For who could have brooked the insolence of our fathers? Gathering together from all Hellas men who were the worst of idlers and men who had a part in every form of depravity and manning their triremes with them,[d] they made themselves odious to the Hellenes,[e] driving into exile the best of the citizens in the other states[f]

[d] Mercenaries made up the crews at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. See Thuc. i. 121.

[e] *Cf.* Thuc. ii. 9.

[f] The aristocratic families, in order to make room for the democratic faction. Isocrates evidently means that their property was confiscated and used to pay the mercenaries. See Thuc. viii. 21. The rhetorical point is the same as in 46.

πόλεσιν ἐξέβαλλον, τοῖς δὲ πονηροτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων τἀκείνων διένεμον;

80 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τολμήσαιμι περὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις γενομένων ἀκριβῶς διελθεῖν, ὑμᾶς μὲν ἴσως ἂν ποιήσαιμι βέλτιον βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων, αὐτὸς δ' ἂν διαβληθείην· εἰώθατε γὰρ μισεῖν οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν ἁμαρτη-
81 μάτων ὡς τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῶν. τοιαύτην οὖν ὑμῶν γνώμην ἐχόντων, δέδοικα μὴ πειρώμενος ὑμᾶς εὐεργετεῖν αὐτὸς ἀπολαύσω τι φλαῦρον. οὐ μὴν ἀποστήσομαι παντάπασιν ὧν διενοήθην, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πικρότατα καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν ὑμᾶς λυπήσοντα παραλείψω, μνησθήσομαι δὲ τούτων μόνον ἐξ ὧν γνώσεσθε τὴν ἄνοιαν τῶν τότε πολιτευομένων.

82 Οὕτω γὰρ ἀκριβῶς εὕρισκον ἐξ ὧν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστ' ἂν μισηθεῖεν, ὥστ' ἐψηφίσαντο τὸ περιγιγνόμενον ἐκ τῶν φόρων ἀργύριον, διελόντες κατὰ τάλαντον, εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν τοῖς Διονυσίοις εἰσφέρειν ἐπειδὰν πλῆρες ᾖ τὸ θέατρον· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, καὶ παρεισῆγον τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότων, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιδεικνύοντες τοῖς μὲν συμμάχοις τὰς τιμὰς τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν

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[a] Ironical. He means that they mastered the science of making themselves unpopular.

[b] That is, the theoric fund. See 13, note. The point of the division into talents is obscure. Perhaps one talent was distributed at each festival.

[c] The "Greater Dionysia," celebrated in March.

[d] The state brought them up at public expense until they were of age for citizenship, at which time they were led

and distributing their property among the most depraved of the Hellenes!

But if I were to make bold to go through in detail what took place in those times I might probably help you to be better advised regarding the present situation, but I should prejudice my own reputation; for you are wont to hate not so much those who are responsible for your mistakes as those who undertake to denounce them. I fear, therefore, since you are of such a mind, that if I attempt to benefit you I may myself reap a poor reward. Nevertheless, I am not going to refrain entirely from saying the things which I had in mind but shall pass over the most severe and, mayhap, the most painful to you and recall to your minds only the facts by which you will recognize the folly of the men who at that time governed the city.

For so exactly did they gauge [a] the actions by which human beings incur the worst odium that they passed a decree to divide the surplus of the funds derived from the tributes of the allies into talents and to bring it on the stage,[b] when the theatre was full, at the festival of Dionysus [c]; and not only was this done but at the same time they led in upon the stage the sons of those who had lost their lives in the war,[d] seeking thus to display to our allies,[e] on the one hand, the value of their own property [f]

before the concourse of the people in the theatre and bidden God speed! See Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 154.

[e] It appears that the "tribute" money of the allies during the Confederacy of Delos was brought to Athens by their representatives at the time of the Dionysiac festival. See Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 505, 643. Besides, the festival attracted many unofficial visitors from the other states.

[f] That is, the value we attach to it—how we honour their contributions.

ὑπὸ μισθωτῶν εἰσφερομένης,[1] τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς
83 τὰς διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ταύτην γιγνομένας. καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες αὐτοί τε τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμόνιζον, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν νοῦν οὐκ ἐχόντων ἐμακάριζον αὐτήν, τῶν μὲν συμβήσεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα μελλόντων οὐδεμίαν ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον θαυμάζοντες καὶ ζηλοῦντες, ὃς ἀδίκως εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθὼν καὶ τὸν δικαίως ὑπάρξαντα διὰ
84 ταχέων ἤμελλε προσαπολεῖν. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ κατέστησαν τῶν μὲν οἰκείων ἀμελείας τῶν δ' ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμίας, ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσβεβληκότων εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ τοῦ τείχους ἤδη τοῦ Δεκελειᾶσιν ἑστηκότος εἰς Σικελίαν τριήρεις ἐπλήρουν, καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνοντο τὴν μὲν πατρίδα τεμνομένην καὶ πορθουμένην περιορῶντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς οὐδὲν πώποτ' εἰς
85 ἡμᾶς ἐξαμαρτόντας στρατιὰν ἐκπέμποντες, ἀλλ'
[176] εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφροσύνης ἦλθον, ὥστε τῶν προαστείων τῶν οἰκείων οὐ κρατοῦντες Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Καρχηδόνος ἄρξειν προσεδόκησαν. τοσοῦτον δὲ διήνεγκαν ἀνοίᾳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἱ συμφοραὶ συστέλλουσι καὶ ποιοῦσιν

[1] εἰσφερομένης Lange: εἰσφερομένας MSS.

[a] The text clearly means "brought in by paid men." But *μισθωτοί* may be either paid servants or paid soldiers. The former meaning is generally preferred by the editors because only in a loose sense could it be said that the tribute was brought in by mercenaries; besides, the present tense is employed. Nevertheless the reader will think of the hirelings mentioned just before (in 79) with whom the Athenians manned their triremes and through whom they forced the payment of the tribute, and doubtless the author so intended.

[b] This strong position on the slope of Mt. Parnes in

which was brought in by hirelings,[a] and to the rest of the Hellenes, on the other, the multitude of the fatherless and the misfortunes which result from this policy of aggression. And in doing this they themselves counted the city happy, while many of the simple-minded deemed it blessed, taking no thought whatsoever for future consequences but admiring and envying the wealth which flowed into the city unjustly and which was soon to destroy also that which justly belonged to it. For they reached such a degree of neglect of their own possessions and of covetousness of the possessions of other states that when the Lacedaemonians had invaded our territory and the fortifications at Decelea [b] had already been built, they manned triremes to send to Sicily [c] and were not ashamed to permit their own country to be cut off and plundered [d] by the enemy while dispatching an expedition against a people who had never in any respect offended against us. Nay, they arrived at such a pitch of folly that at a time when they were not masters of their own suburbs [e] they expected to extend their power over Italy and Sicily and Carthage.[f] And so far did they outdo all mankind in recklessness that whereas misfortunes chasten others

Attica was seized and fortified by the Spartans as an outpost from which to raid Athenian territory in 413 B.C.

[c] The original expedition to Sicily was dispatched in 415 B.C. Strong reinforcements were, however, sent at the time Decelea was fortified by the Spartans. See Thuc. vii. 20.

[d] See 92.

[e] Decelea was 14 miles from Athens, but the Athenians kept within their walls, and the Spartans ravaged their territory almost at will. See Thuc. vii. 19 ff.

[f] Thucydides makes Alcibiades voice the expectation of conquering first Sicily, then Italy, and then Carthage. See vi. 90.

ἐμφρονεστέρους, ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὐδ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπαι-
86 δεύθησαν. καίτοι πλείοσι καὶ μείζοσι περιέπεσον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τῶν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ τῇ πόλει γεγενημένων. εἰς Αἴγυπτον μέν γε διακόσιαι πλεύσασαι τριήρεις αὐτοῖς τοῖς πληρώμασι διεφθάρησαν, περὶ δὲ Κύπρον πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ Δεκελεικῷ πολέμῳ[1] μυρίους ὁπλίτας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπώλεσαν, ἐν Σικελίᾳ δὲ τέτταρας μυριάδας καὶ τριήρεις τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίας, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ
87 διακοσίας. τὰς δὲ κατὰ δέκα καὶ κατὰ πέντε[2] καὶ πλείους τούτων ἀπολλυμένας καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χιλίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἀποθνήσκοντας τίς ἂν ἐξαριθμήσειεν; πλὴν ἓν ἦν τοῦτο τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ταφὰς ποιεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, εἰς ἃς πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐφοίτων, οὐ συμπενθήσοντες τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἀλλὰ
88 συνησθησόμενοι ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς. τελευτῶντες δ' ἔλαθον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν τάφους τοὺς δημοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐμπλήσαντες, τὰς δὲ

[1] ἐν δὲ τῷ Δεκελεικῷ πολέμῳ Papyrus Londinensis: ἐν Δάτῳ δὲ ΓΕ: ἐν δὲ τῷ Πόντῳ vulg.
[2] καὶ κατὰ πέντε Papyrus Londinensis: καὶ πέντε MSS.

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[a] So also Thuc. i. 23.
[b] These were sent to aid Inarus of Egypt in his revolt against Persia, 460 B.C. See Thuc. i. 104 ff.
[c] Thucydides (i. 112) speaks of a fleet of 200 ships of which 60 were sent to Egypt, the remainder under Cimon laying siege to Citium in Cyprus. This expedition, though expensive in the loss of men and money, was not disastrous like the former.
[d] The text is very uncertain. The reading of the London papyrus is at least preferable since the loss of 10,000 hoplites (unless a hopeless exaggeration) cannot be accounted for if

and render them more prudent our fathers learned no lessons even from this discipline. And yet they were involved in more and greater disasters in the time of the empire [a] than have ever befallen Athens in all the rest of her history. Two hundred ships which set sail for Egypt perished with their crews,[b] and a hundred and fifty off the island of Cyprus; [c] in the Decelean War [d] they lost ten thousand heavy armed troops of their own and of their allies, and in Sicily forty thousand men and two hundred and forty ships,[e] and, finally, in the Hellespont two hundred ships.[f] But of the ships which were lost in fleets of ten or five or more and of the men who were slain in armies of a thousand or two thousand who could tell the tale? In a word, it was at that time a matter of regular routine to hold public funerals [g] every year, which many both of our neighbours and of the other Hellenes used to attend, not to grieve with us for the dead, but to rejoice together at our misfortunes. And at last, before they knew it, they had filled the public burial-grounds [h] with the bodies of their fellow-citizens and the registers of the

the reading of ΓΕ or that of the other MSS. is adopted. See Laistner in *Classical Quarterly* xv. p. 81. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (according to Thuc. ii. 13), the Athenian heavy-armed troops numbered 29,000. Later (according to *Against Aristog.*, attributed to Demosthenes, 51), the whole body of Athenian citizens numbered but 20,000.

[e] Diodorus (xiii. 21) gives the same number of men, but 200 ships. Thucydides gives the number of ships as 209 and the number of men as not less than 40,000, including heavy and light armed troops, crews, etc. See especially vii. 75. 5.

[f] At the battle of Aegospotami in 405 B.C., the *dénouement* of this tragic history. Xenophon (*Hell.* ii. 1. 20) and Diodorus (xiii. 105) give 180 as the number of the ships.

[g] See *Paneg.* 74, note *d*.

[h] The Ceramicus.

φρατρίας καὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα τὰ ληξιαρχικὰ τῶν
οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει προσηκόντων. γνοίη δ' ἄν τις
ἐκεῖθεν μάλιστα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων· τὰ
γὰρ γένη τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ὀνομαστοτάτων καὶ
τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς μεγίστους, οἳ καὶ τὰς τυραννικὰς
στάσεις καὶ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον διέφυγον,
εὑρήσομεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἐπιθυμοῦμεν, ἀνα-
89 στάτους γεγενημένους. ὥστ' εἴ τις σκοπεῖσθαι
βούλοιτο περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ πρὸς δεῖγμα τοῦτ'
ἀναφέρων, φανεῖμεν ἂν μικροῦ δεῖν ἀντηλλαγμένοι.
Καίτοι χρὴ πόλιν μὲν εὐδαιμονίζειν μὴ τὴν ἐξ
ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰκῇ πολλοὺς πολίτας ἀθροίζου-
σαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν πόλιν
οἰκισάντων μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων διασῴζουσαν, ἄνδρας
[177] δὲ ζηλοῦν μὴ τοὺς τὰς τυραννίδας κατέχοντας μηδὲ
τοὺς μείζω δυναστείαν τοῦ δικαίου κεκτημένους,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀξίους μὲν ὄντας τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς,
στέργοντας δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους διδο-
90 μέναις. ταύτης γὰρ ἕξιν οὔτ' ἀνὴρ οὔτε πόλις
λαβεῖν ἂν δύναιτο σπουδαιοτέραν οὐδ' ἀσφαλε-
στέραν οὐδὲ πλείονος ἀξίαν· ἥνπερ οἱ περὶ τὰ
Περσικὰ γενόμενοι σχόντες οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς
λῃσταῖς ἐβίωσαν, τοτὲ μὲν πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν
ἔχοντες, τοτὲ δ' ἐν σιτοδείαις καὶ πολιορκίαις καὶ
τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς καθεστῶτες, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν
τὴν τροφὴν τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν οὔτ' ἐν ἐνδείαις οὔτ'

[a] *Cf.* 50. All citizens were duly enrolled in the phratry registers, φρατορικὰ γραμματεῖα and in the state registers, kept in each township, ληξιαρχικὰ γραμματεῖα.

[b] Pisistratus and his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus. See Aristotle, *Const. of Athens* 18.

[c] *Cf.* 4.

[d] They were virtually in a state of siege after the occupa-

phratries and of the state [a] with the names of those who had no claim upon the city. And you may judge of the multitude of the slain from this fact: The families of the most illustrious Athenians and our greatest houses, which survived the civil conflicts under the tyrants [b] and the Persian Wars as well, have been, you will find, entirely wiped out [c] under this empire upon which we set our hearts. So that if one desired to go into the question of what befel the rest of our citizens, judging by this instance, it would be seen that we have been changed, one might almost say, into a new people.

And yet we must not count that state happy which without discrimination recruits from all parts of the world a large number of citizens but rather that state which more than all others preserves the stock of those who in the beginning founded it. And we ought not to emulate those who hold despotic power nor those who have gained a dominion which is greater than is just but rather those who, while worthy of the highest honours, are yet content with the honours which are tendered them by a free people. For no man nor any state could obtain a position more excellent than this or more secure or of greater worth. And it was because they acquired just this position that our ancestors in the time of the Persian Wars did not live in the manner of freebooters, now having more than enough for their needs, again reduced to a state of famine and siege [d] and extreme misfortune [e]; on the contrary, while they lived neither in want nor in surfeit of the means of sub-

tion of Decelea by the Spartans, who cut off their food supplies.

[e] The terrible plague described by Thucydides (i. 23; ii. 48 ff.).

ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ὄντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τῆς πολιτείας δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ταῖς αὑτῶν φιλοτιμούμενοι καὶ τὸν βίον ἥδιον τῶν ἄλλων διάγοντες.

91 Ὧν ἀμελήσαντες οἱ γενόμενοι μετ' ἐκείνους οὐκ ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ τυραννεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν, ἃ δοκεῖ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν, πλεῖστον δ' ἀλλήλων κεχώρισται· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχόντων ἔργον ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ταῖς αὑτῶν ἐπιμελείαις ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονεστέρους, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις ἔθος καθέστηκε τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων πόνοις καὶ κακοῖς αὑτοῖς ἡδονὰς παρασκευάζειν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειροῦντας τυραννικαῖς καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς περιπίπτειν, καὶ τοιαῦτα πάσχειν οἷά περ ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δράσωσιν. ἃ καὶ τῇ πόλει συνέπεσεν·
92 ἀντὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ φρουρεῖν τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροπόλεις τῆς αὑτῶν ἐπεῖδον τοὺς πολεμίους κυρίους γενομένους· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ παῖδας ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν, ἀποσπῶντες ἀπὸ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων, πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἠναγκάσθησαν τοὺς αὑτῶν ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ χεῖρον παιδεύειν καὶ τρέφειν ἢ προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ γεωργεῖν τὰς χώρας τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πολλῶν ἐτῶν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐξεγένετο τὴν αὑτῶν.

93 Ὥστ' εἴ τις ἡμᾶς ἐρωτήσειεν εἰ δεξαίμεθ' ἂν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἄρξαντες τοιαῦτα παθοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδεῖν, τίς ἂν ὁμολογήσειε, πλὴν εἴ τις

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[a] That is, to rule by consent as against ruling by force—delegated as against irresponsible power. See *Paneg.* 80 ff.

[b] *Cf. Epist.* vii. 4.

[c] Described in 111–113.

[d] A Spartan garrison occupied the Acropolis during the rule of the Thirty.

[e] This the Athenians did at Samos in 440 B.C. See Thuc. i. 115.

sistence day by day, they prided themselves on the justice of their polity and on their own virtues, and passed their lives more pleasantly than the rest of the world.

But, heedless of these lessons, those who came after them desired, not to rule but to dominate[a]—words which are thought to have the same meaning, although between them there is the utmost difference. For it is the duty of those who rule to make their subjects happier through their care for their welfare,[b] whereas it is a habit of those who dominate to provide pleasures for themselves through the labours and hardships of others. But it is in the nature of things that those who attempt a despot's course must encounter the disasters which befall despotic power[c] and be afflicted by the very things which they inflict upon others. And it is just this which has happened in the case of Athens; for in place of holding the citadels of other states, her people saw the day when the enemy were in possession of the Acropolis[d]; in place of dragging children from their mothers and fathers and taking them as hostages,[e] many of her citizens, living in a state of siege, were compelled to educate and support their children with less than was their due; and in place of farming the lands of other states,[f] for many years[g] they were denied the opportunity of even setting eyes upon their own fields.

If, therefore, anyone were to ask us whether we should choose to see Athens in such distress as the price of having ruled so long a time,[h] who could

[f] The reference is to the cleruchies. See 6, note.

[g] From 413 to 404 B.C.

[h] From 478 to 405 B.C.

*παντάπασιν ἀπονενοημένος ἐστὶ καὶ μήθ' ἱερῶν
μήτε γονέων μήτε παίδων μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς
[178] φροντίζει πλὴν τοῦ χρόνου μόνον τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτόν;
ὧν οὐκ ἄξιον τὴν διάνοιαν ζηλοῦν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ
μᾶλλον τῶν πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων, καὶ
μηδὲν ἧττον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς δόξης ἢ τῆς ἰδίας
φιλοτιμουμένων, καὶ προαιρουμένων μέτριον βίον
μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μᾶλλον ἢ μέγαν πλοῦτον μετ'
94 ἀδικίας. καὶ γὰρ οἱ πρόγονοι τοιούτους αὑτοὺς
παρασχόντες τήν τε πόλιν εὐδαιμονεστάτην τοῖς
ἐπιγιγνομένοις παρέδοσαν καὶ τῆς αὑτῶν ἀρετῆς
ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην κατέλιπον. ἐξ ὧν ἀμφότερα
ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι καταμαθεῖν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, ὅτι
δύναται τρέφειν ἄνδρας ἀμείνους τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ
τὴν καλουμένην μὲν ἀρχὴν οὖσαν δὲ συμφοράν, ὅτι
πέφυκε χείρους ἅπαντας ποιεῖν τοὺς χρωμένους
αὐτῇ.*

95 *Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν διέφθειρεν, ὥστε
τοῖς εἰθισμένοις ἐπαινεῖν τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς οὐχ
οἷόντ' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἡμεῖς
μὲν διὰ τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι κακῶς ἐχρησάμεθα
τοῖς πράγμασιν, εἰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτην τὴν
δύναμιν παρέλαβον, εὐδαίμονας ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν. πολὺ γὰρ θᾶττον ἐν
ἐκείνοις ἐπεδείξατο τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὑτῆς· τὴν γὰρ
πολιτείαν ἣν ἐν ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν*

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[a] See 90. [b] *Cf. Areop.* 74.
[c] *Cf.* Euripides' *Alcestis* 802:
οὐ βίος ἀληθῶς ὁ βίος, ἀλλὰ συμφορά.
[d] *Cf. Panath.* 200.

answer yes, except some utterly abandoned wretch who cared not for sacred matters nor for parents nor for children nor for any other thing save for the term of his own existence? We, however, ought not to emulate the judgement of such men but rather that of those who exercise great forethought and are no less jealous for the reputation of the state than for their own—men who prefer a moderate competence with justice to great wealth unjustly gained. For our ancestors,[a] proving themselves to be men of this character, handed on the city to their descendants in a most prosperous condition and left behind them an imperishable memorial of their virtue. And from this we may easily learn a double lesson: that our soil is able to rear better men than the rest of the world[b] and that what we call empire, though in reality it is misfortune,[c] is of a nature to deprave all who have to do with it.

We have a most convincing proof of this. For imperialism worked the ruin not only of Athens but of the city of the Lacedaemonians also, so that those who are in the habit of praising the virtues of Sparta[d] cannot argue that we managed our affairs badly because of our democratic government whereas if the Lacedaemonians had taken over the empire the results would have been happy both for the rest of the Hellenes and for themselves. For this power revealed its nature much more quickly in their case.[e] Indeed it brought it to pass that a polity which over a period of seven hundred years[f] had never, so far as we know,

[e] The Spartan supremacy lasted from 404 to 371; the Athenian from 478 to 405 B.C.

[f] From the reign of Eurysthenes and Procles, about 1072, to the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C. For the stability of the Spartan constitution see *Panath.* 257.

οὔθ' ὑπὸ κινδύνων οὔθ' ὑπὸ συμφορῶν κινηθεῖσαν, ταύτην ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ σαλεῦσαι καὶ λυθῆναι παρὰ
96 μικρὸν ἐποίησεν. ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν καθεστώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας ἐνέπλησεν ἀδικίας, ῥᾳθυμίας, ἀνομίας, φιλαργυρίας, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως ὑπεροψίας μὲν τῶν συμμάχων, ἐπιθυμίας δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ὀλιγωρίας δὲ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς ἡμετέρους τοῖς εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἁμαρτήμασιν, ὅσον πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον ὑπάρχουσι σφαγὰς καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐποίησαν, ἐξ ὧν ἀειμνήστους τὰς ἔχθρας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕξουσιν.
97 οὕτω δὲ φιλοπολέμως καὶ φιλοκινδύνως διετέθησαν, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα πεφυλαγμένως
[179] μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντες, ὥστε οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων οὐδὲ τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἀπέσχοντο τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βασιλέως μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πλέον ἢ πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα παρασχόντος, Χίων δὲ προθυμότατα πάντων τῶν
98 συμμάχων τῷ ναυτικῷ συγκινδυνευσάντων, Θηβαίων δὲ μεγίστην δύναμιν εἰς τὸ πεζὸν συμβαλομένων, οὐκ ἔφθασαν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντες, καὶ Θηβαίοις μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Κλέαρχον καὶ στρατιὰν ἀνέπεμψαν, Χίων

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[a] See *Paneg.* 110 ff.

[b] An example of this caution is the advice of King Archidamus at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. See Thuc. i. 80.

[c] So also Andocides, *On the Peace* 29.

[d] Chios revolted from Athens in 412 B.C. and supported Sparta with her fleet until the end of the Peloponnesian War.

[e] Thebes was one of Sparta's strongest allies against Athens. See Thuc. iv. 93.

been disturbed by perils or calamities was shaken and all but destroyed in a short space of time. For in place of the ways of life established among them it filled the citizens with injustice, indolence, lawlessness and avarice and the commonwealth with contempt for its allies, covetousness of the possessions of other states, and indifference to its oaths and covenants. In fact they went so far beyond our ancestors in their crimes against the Hellenes that in addition to the evils which already afflicted the several states they stirred up in them slaughter and strife,[a] in consequence of which their citizens will cherish for each other a hatred unquenchable. And they became so addicted to war and the perils of war that, whereas in times past they had been more cautious in this regard[b] than the rest of the world, they did not refrain from attacking even their own allies and their own benefactors; on the contrary, although the great King had furnished them with more than five thousand talents[c] for the war against us, and although the Chians[d] had supported them more zealously than any of their other allies by means of their fleet and the Thebans[e] had contributed a great number of troops to their land forces, the Lacedaemonians no sooner gained the supremacy than they straightway plotted against the Thebans,[f] dispatched Clearchus with an army against the King,[g] and in the case of the Chians

[f] Instanced by the treacherous seizure of the Theban citadel (the Cadmea) by the Spartan Phoebidas. See Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 25 ff.

[g] *Cf. Panath.* 104. The "ten thousand" mercenaries led by the Spartan Clearchus to support Cyrus against King Artaxerxes were not officially dispatched, although sanctioned, by Sparta. For the fortunes of this army see *Paneg.* 145-149; *Philip* 90 ff.; and Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρώτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐφυγάδευσαν, τὰς δὲ τριήρεις ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐξελκύσαντες ἁπάσας ᾤχοντο λαβόντες.

99 Οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτ' ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐπόρθουν μὲν τὴν ἤπειρον, ὕβριζον δὲ τὰς νήσους, ἀνῄρουν δὲ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ πολιτείας καὶ τυράννους καθίστασαν, ἐλυμαίνοντο δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ μεστὴν στάσεων καὶ πολέμων ἐποίησαν. ἐπὶ ποίαν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἐστράτευσαν; ἢ περὶ
100 τίνας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐξήμαρτον; οὐκ Ἠλείων μὲν μέρος τι τῆς χώρας ἀφείλοντο, τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Κορινθίων ἔτεμον, Μαντινέας δὲ διῴκισαν, Φλιασίους δ' ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀργείων εἰσέβαλον, οὐδὲν δ' ἐπαύσαντο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους κακῶς ποιοῦντες, αὑτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἧτταν τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις παρασκευάζοντες;

Ἣν φασί τινες αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν κακῶν, οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγοντες· οὐ γὰρ διὰ ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐμισήθησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὕβρεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις καὶ ταύτην ἡττήθησαν καὶ περὶ τῆς αὑτῶν ἐκινδύνευσαν.
101 χρὴ δὲ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιφέρειν οὐ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ταύτην κατηνέ-

[a] An oligarchy was established there and 600 of the democratic faction were driven into exile. See Diodorus xiii. 65.

[b] This was done by Lysander in 404 B.C. See Diodorus xiii. 70.

[c] Greek settlements in Asia Minor. See *Paneg.* 144.

[d] For example, Samos (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 6), by expelling the democratic faction and setting up "decarchies" there.

[e] Sparta supported Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse in extending his power over Greek cities in Sicily and Italy.

drove into exile [a] the foremost of their citizens and launched their battle-ships from their docks and made off with their whole navy.[b]

However, they were not satisfied with perpetrating these crimes, but about the same time were ravaging the Asiatic coast,[c] committing outrages against the islands,[d] subverting the free governments in Italy and Sicily, setting up despotisms in their stead,[e] overrunning the Peloponnesus and filling it with seditions and wars. For, tell me, against which of the cities of Hellas did they fail to take the field? Which of them did they fail to wrong? Did they not rob the Eleans of part of their territory,[f] did they not lay waste the land of the Corinthians,[g] did they not disperse the Mantineans from their homes,[h] did they not reduce the Phliasians by siege,[i] and did they not invade the country of the Argives,[j] never ceasing from their depredations upon the rest of the world and so bringing upon themselves the disaster at Leuctra?

Some maintain that this disaster was the cause of the misfortunes which overtook Sparta, but they do not speak the truth. For it was not because of this that they incurred the hatred of their allies; it was because of their insolence in the time preceding that they were defeated in this battle and fell into peril of losing their own city. We must not attribute the cause to any subsequent misfortunes but to their crimes in the beginning, as the result of which they

See Diodorus xiv. 10 and *cf. Paneg.* 126, which should be read in this connexion.

[f] See Diodorus xiv. 17.

[g] See Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 19.

[h] See *Paneg.* 126; Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 1.

[i] See Xen. *Hell.* v. 3. 21 ff. and *Paneg.* 126.

[j] See Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4. 19.

χθησαν. ὥστε πολὺ ἂν τις ἀληθέστερα τυγχάνοι λέγων, εἰ φαίη τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης παρελάμβανον· ἐκτῶντο γὰρ δύναμιν οὐδὲν ὁμοίαν
102 τῇ πρότερον ὑπαρχούσῃ. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν
[180] τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ μελετωμένην ῥᾳδίως τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν δυνάμεως ἐπεκράτησαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀκολασίαν τὴν ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς ἐγγενομένην ταχέως κἀκείνης τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπεστερήθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοὺς νόμους ἐφύλαττον οὓς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παρέλαβον, οὐδ᾿ ἐν τοῖς
103 ἤθεσιν ἔμενον οἷς πρότερον εἶχον, ἀλλ᾿ ὑπολαβόντες ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῶσιν, εἰς πολλὴν ταραχὴν κατέστησαν.

Οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἧς πάντες εὔχονται τυχεῖν, ὡς δύσχρηστός ἐστιν, οὐδ᾿ ὡς παραφρονεῖν ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτήν, οὐδ᾿ ὅτι τὴν φύσιν ὁμοίαν ἔχει ταῖς ἑταίραις ταῖς ἐρᾶν μὲν αὑτῶν ποιούσαις, τοὺς δὲ χρωμένους ἀπολλυούσαις.
104 καίτοι φανερῶς ἐπιδέδεικται ταύτην ἔχουσα τὴν δύναμιν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐν πλείσταις ἐξουσίαις γεγενημένους ἴδοι τις ἂν ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκότας, ἀρξαμένους ἀφ᾿ ἡμῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. αὗται γὰρ αἱ πόλεις καὶ πολιτευόμεναι πρότερον σωφρονέστατα καὶ δόξαν ἔχουσαι καλλίστην, ἐπειδὴ ταύτης ἔτυχον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον, οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων διήνεγκαν, ἀλλ᾿ ὥσπερ

[a] For this word-play *cf. Philip* 61, note *d*; also this discourse, 105.

[b] The best commentary upon the association here of self-control (moderation) with an inland power and of the

were brought to such a disastrous end. So that anyone would be much more in accord with the truth if he should assert that they first became subject to the dominion of their present ills at the moment when they attempted to seize the dominion of the sea,[a] since they were seeking to acquire a power which was in no wise like that which they had before possessed. For because of their supremacy on land and of their stern discipline and of the self-control which was cultivated under it, they readily obtained command of the sea, whereas because of the arrogance [b] which was bred in them by that power they speedily lost the supremacy both on land and sea. For they no longer kept the laws which they had inherited from their ancestors nor remained faithful to the ways which they had followed in times past, but conceived that they were licensed to do whatever they pleased and so were plunged into great confusion.

For they did not know that this licence which all the world aspires to attain is a difficult thing to manage, that it turns the heads of those who are enamoured by it, and that it is in its nature like courtesans, who lure their victims to love but destroy those who indulge this passion. And yet it has been shown clearly that it has this effect ; for anyone can see that those who have been in the strongest position to do whatever they pleased have been involved in the greatest disasters, ourselves and the Lacedaemonians first of all. For when these states, which in time past had governed themselves with the utmost sobriety and enjoyed the highest esteem,[c] attained to this licence and seized the empire, they differed

opposite with a sea power is a very interesting passage of the *Panathenaicus* 115, 116.

[c] See *Paneg.* 80, 81.

προσήκει τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ τῆς
αὐτῆς νόσου διεφθαρμένους, καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς
αὐταῖς ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι παρα-
πλησίοις ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὁμοίαις
105 ταῖς συμφοραῖς περιέπεσον. ἡμεῖς τε γὰρ μιση-
θέντες ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ
κινδυνεύσαντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐσώθημεν,
ἐκεῖνοί τε πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσαι βουληθέντων
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καταφυγόντες δι' ἡμῶν τῆς σωτηρίας
ἔτυχον. καίτοι πῶς χρὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην
ἐπαινεῖν τὴν τὰς τελευτὰς οὕτω πονηρὰς ἔχουσαν;
ἢ πῶς οὐ μισεῖν καὶ φεύγειν τὴν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ
ποιεῖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς πόλεις ἐπάρασαν καὶ παθεῖν
ἀναγκάσασαν;

106 Οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ θαυμάζειν, εἰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
ἐλάνθανεν ἅπαντας τοσούτων οὖσα κακῶν αἰτία
τοῖς ἔχουσιν αὐτήν, οὐδ' εἰ περιμάχητος ἦν ὑφ'
ἡμῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· εὑρήσετε γὰρ τοὺς
πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις τῶν
[181] πραγμάτων ἁμαρτάνοντας, καὶ πλείους μὲν ἐπι-
θυμίας ἔχοντας τῶν κακῶν ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἄμεινον
δὲ βουλευομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ σφῶν αὐτῶν.
107 καὶ ταῦτ' ἴδοι τις ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων· τί γὰρ
οὐχ οὕτω γέγονεν; οὐχ ἡμεῖς μὲν τοιαῦτα προ-
ῃρούμεθα πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεσπόται
τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέστησαν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὕτω κακῶς
προὔστησαν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς οὐ πολλοῖς
ἔτεσιν ὕστερον πάλιν ἐπιπολάσαι καὶ κυρίους
108 γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκείνων σωτηρίας; οὐχ ἡ μὲν
τῶν ἀττικιζόντων πολυπραγμοσύνη λακωνίζειν τὰς
πόλεις ἐποίησεν, ἡ δὲ τῶν λακωνιζόντων ὕβρις

in no respect from each other, but, as is natural in the case of those who have been depraved by the same passions and the same malady, they attempted the same deeds and indulged in similar crimes and, finally, fell into like disasters. For we, being hated by our allies and standing in peril of being enslaved, were saved by the Lacedaemonians;[a] and just so they, when all the rest wanted to destroy them, came to us for refuge and were saved through us.[b] And yet how can we praise a dominion which subjects us to so miserable an end? How can we fail to abhor and shun a power which has incited these two cities both to do and to suffer many abominable things?

But, after all, we should not be surprised that in the past all men have failed to see that this power is the cause of so many ills to those who hold it, nor should we wonder that it has been the bone of contention between us and the Lacedaemonians. For you will find that the great majority of mankind go astray in choosing a course of action and, being possessed of more desires for things evil than for things good, take counsel more in the interest of their foes than of themselves. You can observe this in matters of the greatest importance. For when has it ever happened otherwise? Did we not choose to pursue a policy in consequence of which the Lacedaemonians became masters of the Hellenes? Did not they, in their turn, manage their supremacy so badly that not many years later we again got the upper hand and became the arbiters of their safety? Did not the meddlesomeness of the partizans of Athens cause the various states to become partizans of Sparta, and did not the insolence of the partizans

[a] See 78. [b] See *Philip* 44, note *b*; *Areop.* 7, note.

ἀττικίζειν τὰς αὐτὰς ταύτας ἠνάγκασεν; οὐ διὰ μὲν τὴν τῶν δημηγορούντων πονηρίαν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεθύμησε τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων καταστάσης, διὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα μανίαν ἅπαντες δημοτικώτεροι γεγόναμεν τῶν Φυλὴν
109 καταλαβόντων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδείξειεν ἄν τις τοὺς πολλοὺς χαίροντας μὲν καὶ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοῖς καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν βλάπτουσιν, ἐπίπονα δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ νομίζοντας ἀφ' ὧν ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' ἂν ὠφελοῖτο, καὶ καρτερικοὺς εἶναι δοκοῦντας τοὺς ἐν τούτοις
110 ἐμμένοντας. οἵτινες οὖν, ἐν οἷς ἀεὶ ζῶσι καὶ περὶ ὧν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον μέλει, τὰ χείρω φαίνονται προαιρούμενοι, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, περὶ ἧς μηδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῖς λογισμὸς εἰσῆλθεν;

111 Ὁρᾶτε δὲ καὶ τὰς μοναρχίας τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθισταμένας, ὅσους ἔχουσι τοὺς ἐπιθυμητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἑτοίμους ὄντας ὁτιοῦν πάσχειν ὥστε κατασχεῖν αὐτάς· αἷς τί τῶν δεινῶν ἢ τῶν χαλεπῶν οὐ πρόσεστιν; οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπειδὰν λάβωσι τὰς δυναστείας,
112 ἐν τοσούτοις ἐμπεπλεγμένοι κακοῖς εἰσιν, ὥστ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι πολεμεῖν μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις, μισεῖν δ' ὑφ' ὧν οὐδὲν κακὸν πεπόνθασιν, ἀπιστεῖν

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[a] For the excesses of the Thirty see *Areop.* 66 ff.

[b] Thrasybulus, the leader of the "people's party," seized the fortress of Phyle on Mt. Parnes and held it against the Thirty until the democracy was restored. See *Areop.* 64, note.

[c] *Cf. To Nicocles* 45.

[d] *Cf.* pictures of the fate of despots in *To Nicocles* 5,

of Sparta force these same states to become partizans of Athens? Did not the people themselves, because of the depravity of the popular orators, desire the oligarchy which was established under the Four Hundred? And have not we, all of us, because of the madness of the Thirty,[a] become greater enthusiasts for democracy than those who occupied Phyle[b]? Indeed in matters of lesser importance and in our every-day life, one could show that the majority take pleasure in the foods and habits which injure both the body and the soul but consider laborious and irksome those from which both sides of our nature would benefit, and that those men are looked upon as austere who remain steadfast in habits which are beneficial.[c] Since, therefore, in the circumstances in which they live every day and about which they are more directly concerned, men show that they prefer the worse to the better course, how can we be surprised if they lack insight regarding the empire of the sea and make war upon each other to possess a power regarding which they have never reflected in their lives?

Look at the one-man-rule which is established in various states and observe how many there are who aspire to it and are ready to undergo anything whatsoever to obtain it. And yet what that is dire and difficult is not its portion?[d] Is it not true that when men obtain unlimited power they find themselves at once in the coil of so many troubles that they are compelled to make war upon all their citizens, to hate those from whom they have suffered no wrong whatsoever, to suspect their own friends

Helen 32 ff., and Plato, *Republic* the beginning of Bk. ix., especially 579.

182] δὲ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις τοῖς αὑτῶν, παρακατατίθεσθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων σωτηρίαν μισθοφόροις ἀνθρώποις, οὓς οὐδὲ πώποτ᾽ εἶδον, μηδὲν δ᾽ ἧττον φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς φυλάττοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὕτω δ᾽ ὑπόπτως πρὸς ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστε μηδὲ τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις θαρρεῖν πλησιά-
113 ζοντας; εἰκότως· συνίσασι γὰρ τοὺς πρὸ αὑτῶν τετυραννευκότας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἀνῃρημένους, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀδελφῶν, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανισμένον. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ὑπὸ τοσαύτας τὸ πλῆθος συμφορὰς ἑκόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑποβάλλουσιν. ὅπου δ᾽ οἱ πρωτεύοντες καὶ δόξας μεγίστας ἔχοντες τοσούτων κακῶν ἐρῶσι, τί δεῖ θαυμάζειν τοὺς ἄλλους, εἰ τοιούτων ἑτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν;

114 Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ᾽ ὅτι τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν τυράννων λόγον ἀποδέχεσθε, τὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς δυσκόλως ἀκούετε· πεπόνθατε γὰρ πάντων αἴσχιστον καὶ ῥᾳθυμότατον· ἃ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁρᾶτε, ταῦτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀγνοεῖτε. καίτοι τῶν φρονίμως διακειμένων οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τοῦτο σημεῖόν ἐστιν, ἢν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ὁμοίων
115 φαίνωνται γνωρίζοντες. ὧν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν πώποτ᾽ ἐμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν τυραννίδας ἡγεῖσθε

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[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *Laelius* 15: "haec enim est tyrannorum vita nimirum in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia; omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita."

[b] Alexander of Macedon by his mother.

[c] Astyages by Cyrus.

[d] Acetas by Perdiccas; Jason of Pherae by Polydorus.

and daily companions, to entrust the safety of their persons to hirelings whom they have never even seen, to fear no less those who guard their lives than those who plot against them, and to be so suspicious towards all men as not to feel secure even in the company of their nearest kin?[a] And naturally so; for they know well that those who held despotic power before them have been put out of the way, some by their parents,[b] some by their sons,[c] some by their brothers,[d] and some by their wives[e] and, furthermore, that the lineage of these rulers has been blotted out from the sight of men.[f] Nevertheless they willingly submit themselves to such a multitude of calamities.[g] And when men who are of the foremost rank and of the greatest reputation are enamoured of so many evils, is it any wonder that the rest of the world covets other evils of the same kind?

But I do not fail to realize that while you accept readily what I say about the rule of despots, yet you hear with intolerance what I say about the empire of the sea. For you have fallen into a most shameful and careless way of thinking, since what you see clearly in the case of others, this you are blind to in your own case. And yet it is not the least important sign of whether men are possessed of intelligence if they are seen to recognize the same course of conduct in all cases that are comparable.[h] But you have never given this a thought; on the contrary, while you consider the power of a despot to

[e] Alexander of Pherae.

[f] See *Philip* 108, note.

[g] *Cf.* the saying of Periander (Herod. iii. 53): τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν· πολλοὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι.

[h] That is, if they apply the same standard of judgement to all similar cases.

χαλεπὰς εἶναι καὶ βλαβερὰς οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν αὐτάς, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν οὐδὲν οὔτε τοῖς πάθεσιν οὔτε ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν μοναρχιῶν διαφέρουσαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν Θηβαίων πράγματα πονηρῶς ἔχειν νομίζετε, ὅτι τοὺς περιοίκους ἀδικοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐδὲν βέλτιον τοὺς συμμάχους διοικοῦντες ἢ 'κεῖνοι τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἡγεῖσθε πάντα τὰ δέοντα πράττειν.

116 Ἢν οὖν ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, παυσάμενοι τοῦ παντάπασιν εἰκῇ βουλεύεσθαι προσέξετε τὸν νοῦν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει, καὶ φιλοσοφήσετε καὶ σκέψεσθε τί τὸ ποιῆσάν ἐστι τὼ πόλη τούτω, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ ταπεινῶν μὲν πραγμάτων ἑκατέραν ὁρμηθεῖσαν ἄρξαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνυπέρβλητον τὴν δύναμιν
117 ἔλαβον, περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεῦσαι· καὶ διὰ
[183] τίνας αἰτίας Θετταλοὶ μέν, μεγίστους πλούτους παραλαβόντες καὶ χώραν ἀρίστην καὶ πλείστην ἔχοντες, εἰς ἀπορίαν καθεστήκασι, Μεγαρεῖς δέ, μικρῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ φαύλων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπαρξάντων, καὶ γῆν μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ λιμένας οὐδ' ἀργυρεῖα, πέτρας δὲ γεωργοῦντες, μεγίστους
118 οἴκους τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέκτηνται· κἀκείνων μὲν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ἄλλοι τινὲς ἀεὶ κατέχουσιν, ὄντων αὐτοῖς πλέον τρισχιλίων ἱππέων καὶ πελταστῶν

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[a] The Thespians and the Plataeans, whom the Thebans expelled from their territory.

[b] See *Antid.* 155 ; Thuc. i. 2.

[c] The Megarians were mere "nobodies" among the Greeks. *Cf.* Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 519, and the saying: τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐδεὶς λόγος. Isocrates could have ventured

be harsh and harmful not only to others but to those who hold it, you look upon the empire of the sea as the greatest good in the world, when in fact it differs neither in what it does nor in what it suffers from one-man-rule. And you think that the affairs of the Thebans are in a bad way because they oppress their neighbours,[a] but, although you yourselves are treating your allies no better than the Thebans treat the Boeotians, you believe that your own actions leave nothing to be desired.

If, then, you heed my advice you will stop taking counsel in your utterly haphazard fashion and give your attention to your own and the state's welfare, pondering and searching into these questions: What is it which caused these two states—Athens and Sparta I mean—to rise, each one of them, from obscure beginnings to be the first power in Hellas and then to fall, after they had attained a power second to none, into peril of being enslaved? What are the reasons that the Thessalians, who inherited very great wealth and possess a very rich and abundant territory,[b] have been reduced to poverty, while the Megarians, who had small and insignificant resources[c] to begin with and who possess neither land nor harbours[d] nor mines but are compelled to farm mere rocks, own estates which are the greatest[e] among the Hellenes? Why is it that the Thessalians, with a cavalry of more than three thousand horse and light-armed troops beyond number,[f] have their fortresses occupied from time to time by certain

no more astounding paradox than in holding up the Megarians as an example to follow.

[d] He means no lands or harbours to speak of, for the Megarians had both, though very little land.

[e] Through commerce. [f] See Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1. 19.

ἀναριθμήτων, οὗτοι δὲ μικρὰν δύναμιν ἔχοντες τὴν αὑτῶν ὅπως βούλονται διοικοῦσιν· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οἱ μὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦσιν, οὗτοι δὲ μεταξὺ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως οἰκοῦντες εἰρήνην ἄγοντες διατελοῦσιν.
119 ἢν γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διεξίητε πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, εὑρήσετε τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τὴν ὕβριν τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν γιγνομένην, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

Ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐπαινεῖτε, καὶ νομίζετε τοὺς ταύτῃ χρωμένους ἀσφαλέστατα ζῆν καὶ βελτίστους εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν ἡμῶν οὐκ οἴεσθε δεῖν τοιοῦτο παρασκευάζειν.
120 καίτοι προσήκει τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀσκεῖν καὶ τὰς κακίας φεύγειν πολὺ μᾶλλον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ τοῖς ἰδιώταις. ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβὴς καὶ πονηρὸς τυχὸν ἂν φθάσειε τελευτήσας πρὶν δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἡμαρτημένων· αἱ δὲ πόλεις διὰ τὴν ἀθανασίαν ὑπομένουσι καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας.

121 Ὧν ἐνθυμουμένους χρὴ μὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μὲν χαριζομένοις, τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος χρόνου μηδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένοις, μηδὲ τοῖς φιλεῖν μὲν τὸν δῆμον φάσκουσιν, ὅλην δὲ τὴν πόλιν λυμαινομένοις· ὡς καὶ πρότερον, ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβον οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος δυναστείαν, εἰς τοσαύτην ἄνοιαν προήγαγον τὴν

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[a] By the Macedonians under Alexander II. and by the Thebans under Pelopidas.

[b] An "unphilosophical" answer might be that no one

other states [a] while the Megarians, with only a small force, govern their city as they see fit? And, again, why is it that the Thessalians are always at war with each other while the Megarians, who dwell between the Peloponnesians on the one hand and the Thebans and the Athenians on the other, are continually in a state of peace? [b] If you will go over these and similar questions in your minds, you will discover that arrogance and insolence have been the cause of our misfortunes while sobriety and self-control have been the source of our blessings.[c]

But, while you commend sobriety in individual men and believe that those who practise it enjoy the most secure existence and are the best among your fellow-citizens, you do not think it fit to make the state practise it. And yet it behoves states much more than individuals to cultivate the virtues and to shun vices; [d] for a man who is godless and depraved may die before paying the penalty for his sins, but states, since they are deathless, soon or late must submit to punishment at the hands both of men and of the gods.

These considerations you should bear in mind and not pay heed to those who gratify you for the moment, while caring nothing for the future, nor to those who profess to love the people, but are in fact the bane of the whole state; since in times past also when men of this character took over the supremacy of the rostrum,[e] they led the city on to such a degree

coveted Megarian territory, whereas Thessalian resources were tempting. See a remark of Thucydides, i. 2.

[c] See General Introd. pp. xxxii, xxxiii, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

[d] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic* 545 B.

[e] Obviously sarcastic: their "supremacy" spells disaster to the state.

πόλιν, ὥστε παθεῖν αὐτὴν οἷά περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ὑμῖν διηγησάμην.

122 [184] Ἃ καὶ πάντων μάλιστ' ἄν τις θαυμάσειεν, ὅτι προχειρίζεσθε δημαγωγοὺς οὐ τοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας τοῖς μεγάλην τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὅμοια καὶ λέγοντας καὶ πράττοντας τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν αὐτήν, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα τοὺς χρηστοὺς
123 τῶν πονηρῶν διαφέροντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐπὶ μὲν ἐκείνων ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν οὔτε μεταστᾶσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δὶς ἤδη καταλυθεῖσαν, καὶ τὰς φυγὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα γενομένας οὐ διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας κατελθούσας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς μισοῦντας τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ μεγίστην ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δόξαν ἔχοντας.

124 Ἀλλ' ὅμως τηλικούτων ἡμῖν ὑπομνημάτων καταλελειμμένων ὡς ἐφ' ἑκατέρων αὐτῶν ἡ πόλις ἔπραττεν, οὕτω χαίρομεν ταῖς τῶν ῥητόρων πονηρίαις, ὥσθ' ὁρῶντες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς ταραχάς, ἃς οὗτοι πεποιήκασι, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν πατρῴων ἐκπεπτωκότας, τούτους δ' ἐκ πενήτων πλουσίους γεγενημένους,

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[a] A century, from the reforms of Cleisthenes in 510 to the revolution of 411 B.C.

[b] In 411 and 404 B.C.

[c] False accusers, slanderers, professional blackmailers—a class of persons which sprang up like weeds in Athens after the age of Pericles. Their favourite device was to

of folly that she suffered the fate which I described a moment ago.

And indeed what is most astonishing of all in your conduct is that you prefer as leaders of the people, not those who are of the same mind as the men who made Athens great, but those who say and do the same kind of things as the men who destroyed her power; and you do this albeit knowing full well that it is not alone in making the city prosperous that good leaders are superior to the base, but that our democracy itself under the leadership of the former remained unshaken and unchanged for many years,[a] whereas under the guidance of these men it has already, within a short period of time,[b] been twice overthrown, and that, furthermore, our people who were driven into exile under the despots and in the time of the Thirty were restored to the state, not through the efforts of the sycophants,[c] but through those leaders who despised men of that character and were held in the highest respect for their integrity.[d]

Nevertheless, in spite of the many things which remind us how the city fared under both kinds of leadership, we are so pleased with the depravity of our orators that, although we see that many of our other citizens have been stripped of their patrimony because of the war and of the disorders which these sycophants have caused, while the latter, from being

extort money by threatening or instituting law-suits. But the word was applied indiscriminately by Isocrates and others to demagogues and politicians of the opposite party. See Lafberg, *Sycophancy in Athens*. *Cf.* Aristophanes, *Plutus* 850 ff. The term " flatterers " is used in 4.

[d] Aristides restored the people after the rule of the Pisistratidae and Thrasybulus after the rule of the Thirty—both men of unblemished reputation.

οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦμεν οὐδὲ φθονοῦμεν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις
125 αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπομένομεν τὴν μὲν πόλιν διαβολὰς
ἔχουσαν ὡς λυμαίνεται καὶ δασμολογεῖ τοὺς
Ἕλληνας, τούτους δὲ τὰς ἐπικαρπίας λαμβάνοντας,
καὶ τὸν μὲν δῆμον, ὅν φασιν οὗτοι δεῖν τῶν ἄλλων
ἄρχειν, χεῖρον πράττοντα τῶν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις
δουλευόντων, οἷς δ' οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἀγαθόν, τούτους
δὲ διὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐκ ταπεινῶν εὐδαί-
126 μονας γεγενημένους. καίτοι Περικλῆς ὁ πρὸ τῶν
τοιούτων δημαγωγὸς καταστάς, παραλαβὼν τὴν
πόλιν χεῖρον μὲν φρονοῦσαν ἢ πρὶν κατασχεῖν τὴν
ἀρχήν, ἔτι δ' ἀνεκτῶς πολιτευομένην, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν
ἴδιον χρηματισμὸν ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οἶκον
ἐλάττω τὸν αὑτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
παρέλαβεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγεν ὀκτα-
127 κισχίλια τάλαντα χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν. οὗτοι δὲ
τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου διενηνόχασιν, ὥστε λέγειν μὲν
τολμῶσιν ὡς διὰ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν οὐ
δύνανται τοῖς αὑτῶν ἰδίοις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν,
φαίνεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀμελούμενα τοσαύτην εἰληφότα
[185] τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, ὅσην οὐδ' ἂν εὔξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς

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[a] A frequent charge. See *Panath.* 140 ff.; Demosthenes, *Aristocr.* 208, 209. Aeschines (*Against Ctesiphon* 173) makes it against Demosthenes himself: "he maintains himself, not from his private income, but from your perils." The popular orators were in a strong position to make or break the fortunes or the reputations of men and of cities. Isocrates attributes the bad treatment of the general Timotheus by the Athenians to the latter's failure to court the favour of the orators, which other military leaders took pains to do. See *Antid.* 136. Generals in the field found opportunities to enrich themselves and were prudent enough to "cultivate" the popular leaders at home. Chares, particularly, had the reputation of doing this. See 50, note.

penniless, have become rich,[a] yet we are not aggrieved nor do we resent their prosperity but remain patient with a condition of affairs wherein our city is reproached with doing violence to the Hellenes and extorting money from them,[b] while these men reap the harvest,[c] and wherein our people, who are told by the sycophants that they ought to rule over the rest of the world, are worse off than those who are slaves to oligarchy,[d] while these men, who had no advantage to start with, have risen because of our folly from a mean to an enviable position. And yet Pericles,[e] who was the leader of the people before men of this stamp came into favour, taking over the state when it was less prudent than it had been before it obtained the supremacy, although it was still tolerably well governed, was not bent upon his own enrichment,[f] but left an estate which was smaller than that which he received from his father, while he brought up into the Acropolis eight thousand talents,[g] apart from the sacred treasures. But these demagogues have shown themselves so different from him that they have the effrontery to say that because of the care they give to the commonwealth they are not able to give attention to their private interests, although in fact these "neglected" interests have advanced to a degree of affluence which they would never have even dreamed of praying to the gods that they might attain, whereas

[a] On the question of bribery at this time see Butcher, *Demosthenes* pp. 11 ff.

[b] See Aristophanes, *Wasps* 655-724.

[c] *Cf.* Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1114 ff.

[d] See *Paneg.* 105.

[e] Isocrates' attitude towards Pericles is set forth at greater length in *Antid.* 234.

[f] Thucydides (ii. 65) calls him "incorruptible beyond suspicion."

[g] See 69, note; *Antid.* 234.

προτερον ἠξίωσαν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἡμῶν, οὗ κήδεσθαί φασιν, οὕτω διακείμενον ὥστε μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἡδέως ζῆν μηδὲ ῥᾳθύμως, ἀλλ' ὀδυρμῶν μεστὴν
128 εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς πενίας καὶ τὰς ἐνδείας ἀναγκάζονται διεξιέναι καὶ θρηνεῖν πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσταγμάτων καὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν καὶ τὰ κακὰ τὰ περὶ τὰς συμμορίας καὶ τὰς ἀντιδόσεις· ἃ τοιαύτας ἐμποιεῖ λύπας, ὥστ' ἄλγιον ζῆν τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους ἢ τοὺς συνεχῶς πενομένους.

129 Θαυμάζω δ' εἰ μὴ δύνασθε συνιδεῖν ὅτι γένος οὐδέν ἐστι κακονούστερον τῷ πλήθει πονηρῶν ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἀναγκαίων οὗτοι μάλιστα βούλονται σπανίζειν ὑμᾶς, ὁρῶντες τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δυναμένους τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν διοικεῖν τῆς πόλεως ὄντας καὶ τῶν τὰ βέλτιστα
130 λεγόντων, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων ζῶντας καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν λημμάτων ὑφ' αὑτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν ἠναγκασμένους εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν χάριν ἔχοντας ταῖς εἰσαγγελίαις καὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις συκοφαντίαις ταῖς δι'
131 αὐτῶν γιγνομέναις. ἐν οὖν ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ δυναστεύουσιν, ἐν ταύταις ἥδιστ' ἂν ἴδοιεν

[a] The burdens of state expense were theoretically carried by those best able to bear them. The twelve hundred richest citizens were divided in accordance with their wealth into twenty classes, called symmories. Special tax levies for war purposes were levied upon them in proportion to their means. Besides, men of the wealthiest class were called upon to perform the "liturgies" at their own expense. One of the most burdensome of these was the trierarchy—fitting out a battleship for service and maintaining it in

our people, for whom they pretend to care, are in such straits that not one of our citizens is able to live with pleasure or at ease; on the contrary, Athens is rife with lamentations. For some are driven to rehearse and bewail amongst themselves their poverty and privation while others deplore the multitude of duties enjoined upon them by the state—the liturgies and all the nuisances connected with the symmories and with exchanges of property;[a] for these are so annoying that those who have means find life more burdensome than those who are continually in want.

I marvel that you cannot see at once that no class is so inimical to the people as our depraved orators and demagogues. For, as if your other misfortunes were not enough, their chief desire is that you should be in want of your daily necessities, observing that those who are able to manage their affairs from their private incomes are on the side of the commonwealth and of our best counsellors, whereas those who live off the law-courts and the assemblies[b] and the doles derived from them are constrained by their need to be subservient to the sycophants and are deeply grateful for the impeachments and the indictments[c] and the other sharp practices which are due to the sycophants. Wherefore these men would be most happy to see all of our citizens reduced to the con-

fighting trim for one year. If a man called upon to undertake such a burden felt that another could better afford to stand the expense he had the right to demand that he do so or else exchange property with him. See *Antid.* 145, note, and the introduction to that discourse.

[b] Three obols a day were paid for the attendance of jurymen and of members of the General Assembly. See *Areop.* 24, 54 and notes; *Antid.* 152.

[c] See *Antid.* 314, note.

ἅπαντας ὄντας τοὺς πολίτας. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγι-
στον· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο σκοποῦσιν, ἐξ οὗ τρόπου τοῖς
δεομένοις βίον ἐκποριοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοὺς ἔχειν
τι δοκοῦντας τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐξισώσουσιν.

132 Τίς οὖν ἀπαλλαγὴ γένοιτ' ἂν τῶν κακῶν τῶν
παρόντων; διείλεγμαι μὲν τὰ πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν
τούτων, οὐκ ἐφεξῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστον τῷ καιρῷ
συνέπιπτεν· μᾶλλον δ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἐγγένοιτο μνημο-
νεύειν, εἰ συναγαγὼν τὰ μάλιστα κατεπείγοντα
πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτὰ πειραθείην.

133 Ἔστι δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐπανορθώσαιμεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως
καὶ βελτίω ποιήσαιμεν, πρῶτον μὲν ἢν συμβούλους
ποιώμεθα τοιούτους περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, οἵους περ ἂν
περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἡμῖν εἶναι βουληθεῖμεν, καὶ παυσώ-
μεθα δημοτικοὺς μὲν εἶναι νομίζοντες τοὺς συκο-
[186] φάντας, ὀλιγαρχικοὺς δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς
τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γνόντες ὅτι φύσει μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδέτερον
τούτων ἐστίν, ἐν ᾗ δ' ἂν ἕκαστοι τιμῶνται, ταύτην
134 βούλονται καθεστάναι τὴν πολιτείαν· δεύτερον δ'
ἢν ἐθελήσωμεν χρῆσθαι τοῖς συμμάχοις ὁμοίως
ὥσπερ τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ μὴ λόγῳ μὲν αὐτονόμους
ἀφιῶμεν, ἔργῳ δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς αὐτοὺς ὅ τι ἂν
βούλωνται ποιεῖν ἐκδιδῶμεν, μηδὲ δεσποτικῶς
ἀλλὰ συμμαχικῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιστατῶμεν, ἐκεῖνο
καταμαθόντες, ὅτι μιᾶς μὲν ἑκάστης τῶν πόλεων
135 κρείττους ἐσμέν, ἁπασῶν δ' ἥττους· τρίτον ἢν

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[a] *Cf. Antid.* 241.

[b] This term is almost technical for the aristocratic party, but is here used in a broader sense. *Cf. Antid.* 316.

[c] *Cf. Antid.* 318.

[d] Aimed at Chares. Diodorus (xv. 95) says of him :

dition of helplessness in which they themselves are powerful.[a] And the greatest proof of this is that they do not consider by what means they may provide a livelihood for those who are in need, but rather how they may reduce those who are thought to possess some wealth to the level of those who are in poverty.

What, then, is the way of escape from our present ills? I have already discussed most of the points which bear upon this question, not in sequence, but as each fell into its opportune place. But perhaps it will help you to hold them in memory if I attempt to bring together and review those which more than others press upon our attention.

The first way by which we can set right and improve the condition of our city is to select as our advisers on affairs of state the kind of men whose advice we should desire on our private affairs, and to stop thinking of the sycophants as friends of democracy and of the good men and true[b] among us as friends of oligarchy,[c] realizing that no man is by nature either the one or the other but that all men desire, in each case, to establish that form of government in which they are held in honour. The second way is to be willing to treat our allies just as we would our friends and not to grant them independence in words, while in fact giving them over to our generals to do with as they please,[d] and not to exercise our leadership as masters but as helpers,[e] since we have learned the lesson that while we are stronger than any single state we are weaker than all Hellas. And the third way is to consider that

τοὺς συμμάχους ἀδικῶν διετέλει. *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 17: *Ἰσοκράτης κατηγορεῖ Χάρητος ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ.*

[e] *Cf. Paneg.* 80.

μηδὲν περὶ πλείονος ἡγῆσθε, μετά γε τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν, τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμεῖν· τοῖς γὰρ οὕτω διακειμένοις ἑκόντες καὶ τὰς δυναστείας καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας διδόασιν.

136 Ἣν οὖν ἐμμείνητε τοῖς εἰρημένοις, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς παράσχητε πολεμικοὺς μὲν ὄντας ταῖς μελέταις καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εἰρηνικοὺς δὲ τῷ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πράττειν, οὐ μόνον εὐδαίμονα ποιήσετε ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
137 Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη τῶν πόλεων οὐδεμία τολμήσει περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἀλλ' ὀκνήσουσι καὶ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄξουσιν, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἐφεδρεύουσαν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ παρεσκευασμένην τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁπότερον ἂν ποιήσωσι, τό γ' ἡμέτερον
138 καλῶς ἕξει καὶ συμφερόντως. ἤν τε γὰρ δόξῃ τῶν πόλεων ταῖς προεχούσαις ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἡμεῖς τούτων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν αἰτίαν ἕξομεν· ἤν τ' ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἀδικεῖν, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἅπαντες οἱ δεδιότες καὶ κακῶς πάσχοντες καταφεύξονται, πολλὰς ἱκετείας καὶ δεήσεις ποιούμενοι, καὶ διδόντες οὐ μόνον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ
139 σφᾶς αὐτούς. ὥστ' οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν μεθ' ὧν κωλύσομεν τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἕξομεν τοὺς ἑτοίμως καὶ προθύμως συναγωνιζομένους ἡμῖν. ποία γὰρ πόλις ἢ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσει μετασχεῖν τῆς φιλίας καὶ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὅταν ὁρῶσι τοὺς αὐτούς,
[187] ἀμφότερα, καὶ δικαιοτάτους ὄντας καὶ μεγίστην δύναμιν κεκτημένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σῴζειν καὶ βουλομένους καὶ δυναμένους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μηδε-
140 μιᾶς βοηθείας δεομένους; πόσην δὲ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν

nothing is more important, save only to show reverence to the gods, than to have a good name among the Hellenes. For upon those who are so regarded they willingly confer both sovereign power and leadership.

If, then, you will abide by the advice which I have given you, and if, besides, you will prove yourselves warlike by training and preparing for war but peaceful by doing nothing contrary to justice,[a] you will render not only this city but all the Hellenes happy and prosperous. For no other of the states will dare to oppress them; on the contrary, they will hold back and studiously avoid aggression when they see the power of Athens on the alert and ready to go to the aid of the oppressed. But no matter what course the rest may take, our own position will be honourable and advantageous; for if the foremost states resolve to abstain from acts of oppression, we shall have the credit for this blessing; but if, on the other hand, they attempt to oppress others, then all who fear them and suffer evil at their hands will come to us for refuge, with many prayers and supplications, offering us not only the hegemony but their own support. So that we shall not lack for allies to help us to check the oppressors but shall find many ready and willing to join their forces to our own. For what city or what men will not be eager to share our friendship and our alliance when they see that the Athenians are at once the most just and the most powerful of peoples and are at the same time both willing and able to save the other states, while needing no help for themselves? What a turn for the

[a] Repeated from *To Nicocles* 24.

ἐπίδοσιν τὰ τῆς πόλεως λήψεσθαι, τοιαύτης εὐνοίας ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρξάσης; πόσον δὲ πλοῦτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσρυήσεσθαι, δι' ἡμῶν ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος σωζομένης; τίνας δ' οὐκ ἐπαινέσεσθαι τοὺς τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους γεγενημένους;

141 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἅπαντα τῷ λόγῳ περιλαβεῖν, ἃ τυγχάνω τῇ διανοίᾳ καθορῶν, πλὴν ὅτι καλόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικίαις καὶ μανίαις πρώτους εὖ φρονήσαντας προστῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ σωτῆρας ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνας αὐτῶν κληθῆναι, καὶ περιβλέπτους ἐπ' ἀρετῇ γενομένους τὴν δόξαν τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀναλαβεῖν.

142 Κεφάλαιον δὲ τούτων ἐκεῖν' ἔχω λέγειν, εἰς ὃ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα συντείνει καὶ πρὸς ὃ χρὴ βλέποντας τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς πόλεως δοκιμάζειν. δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς, εἴπερ βουλόμεθα διαλύσασθαι μὲν τὰς διαβολὰς ἃς ἔχομεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, παύσασθαι δὲ τῶν πολέμων τῶν μάτην γιγνομένων, κτήσασθαι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, μισῆσαι μὲν ἁπάσας τὰς τυραννικὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δυναστείας, ἀναλογισαμένους τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένας, ζηλῶσαι δὲ καὶ μιμήσασθαι
143 τὰς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι βασιλείας. ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἀδικεῖν μὲν ἧττον ἔξεστιν ἢ τοῖς ἰδιώταις, τοσούτῳ δὲ μακαριστότεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τῶν βίᾳ τὰς τυραννίδας κατεχόντων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποκτείναντες τὰς μεγίστας δωρεὰς παρὰ τῶν

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[a] He is now 81 years old. [b] *Cf. Paneg.* 80.

[c] The Spartan kings were powerful in the field, but otherwise were subject to the Ephors, who could even have them

better should you expect the affairs of our city to take when we enjoy such good will from the rest of the Hellenes? What wealth will flow into Athens when through her all Hellas is made secure? And who among men will fail to praise those who will have been the authors of blessings so many and so great?

But I am not able because of my age [a] to include in my speech all the things which I grasp in my thought, save that it is a noble enterprise for us, in the midst of the injustice and madness of the rest of the world, to be the first to adopt a sane policy and stand forth as the champions of the freedom of the Hellenes, to be acclaimed as their saviours, not their destroyers,[b] and to become illustrious for our virtues and regain the good repute which our ancestors possessed.

But I have yet to touch upon the chief consideration of all—that upon which centres everything that I have said and in the light of which we should appraise the actions of the state. For if we really wish to clear away the prejudice in which we are held at the present time, we must cease from the wars which are waged to no purpose and so gain for our city the hegemony for all time; we must abhor all despotic rule and imperial power, reflecting upon the disasters which have sprung from them; and we must emulate and imitate the position held by the kings of Lacedaemon: they, it is true, have less freedom than their private citizens to do wrong,[c] yet are much more enviable than those who hold despotic power by force; for those who take the lives of despots are given the highest rewards by their

put to death. See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* pp. 46 ff. and 57 ff.

συμπολιτευομένων λαμβάνουσιν, ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων δ'
οἱ μὴ τολμῶντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀποθνήσκειν ἀ-
τιμότεροι γίγνονται τῶν τὰς τάξεις λειπόντων καὶ
144 τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀποβαλλόντων. ἄξιον οὖν ὀρέγεσθαι
τῆς τοιαύτης ἡγεμονίας. ἔνεστι δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἡμῶν τυχεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης,
ἥνπερ ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔχουσιν, ἢν ὑπο-
[188] λάβωσι τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν μὴ δουλείας ἀλλὰ
σωτηρίας αἰτίαν αὑτοῖς ἔσεσθαι.

145 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν λόγων ἐνόντων περὶ τὴν
ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀμφότερα συμβουλεύει
παύσασθαι λέγοντι, καὶ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν ἐτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν· τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις καὶ
μᾶλλον ἀκμάζουσιν ἢ ἐγὼ παραινῶ καὶ παρα-
κελεύομαι τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν, ἐξ ὧν
τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰς εἰθισμένας ταῖς
ἄλλαις κακὰ παρέχειν προτρέψουσιν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν
καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐ-
πραγίαις συμβαίνει καὶ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων πράγματα
πολλῷ βελτίω γίγνεσθαι.

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[a] He has in mind the honours shown by the Athenians to the "tyrannicides," Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

[b] See *Philip* 80 and *Epist.* ii. 6.

[c] The ῥίψασπις was not only despised but suffered

fellow-citizens,[a] whereas those Spartans who are not ready to lay down their lives for their kings in battle [b] are held in greater dishonour than men who desert their post and throw away their shields.[c] This, then, is the kind of leadership which is worth striving for. And this very position of honour which the kings of Lacedaemon have from their citizens we Athenians have it in our power to win from the Hellenes, if only they become convinced that our supremacy will be the instrument, not of their enslavement, but of their salvation.

My subject is not exhausted; there are many excellent things to be said upon it, but I am prompted by two considerations to stop speaking: the length of my discourse and the number of my years. But I urge and exhort those who are younger and more vigorous than I to speak and write the kind of discourses by which they will turn the greatest states—those which have been wont to oppress the rest—into the paths of virtue and justice, since when the affairs of Hellas are in a happy and prosperous condition, it follows that the state of learning and letters also is greatly improved.[d]

humiliations and penalties. In Athens, which was less rigorous than Sparta, he lost his political rights.

[d] A somewhat academic close, but the state of affairs and the state of learning are not dissociated in his mind; "philosophy" is the salvation of the state.

II. AREOPAGITICUS

INTRODUCTION

In 355 B.C. ended the deplorable "Social War," which Athens waged against the most powerful members of her Confederacy in the effort to compel them to remain under her sway. She was not successful: Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium were conceded their independence. But there remained still under her influence the many weaker members of her maritime empire; and peace, as usual, brought a sense of great relief and of false security.

This is the very time which Isocrates found opportune for addressing the Athenians on the "public safety."[a] The strength of a state, he warns them, consists, not in the walls which gird a city, but in the quality of its citizenship and in the spirit which animates its polity. In this respect, Athens has no ground whatever for pride or even for complacency; for her life has become, he maintains, unsound at the core. She is far from being now what she was in the days of the old democracy of Solon and of Cleisthenes.

We must be on our guard against the pictures of

[a] This is the view of most competent scholars as to the date of the *Areopagiticus*. See Jebb, *Attic Orators* ii. p. 204; Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii. p. 305; Karl Müncher's introduction to the *Areopagiticus* in his revision of Rauchenstein's edition.

degeneracy found in Isocrates and in the other orators and philosophers of the fourth century. But even when we make due allowance for exaggeration in the contrasts which are drawn between the "golden age" and the present, we do well to reckon with the fact of a change which was not for the better.[a]

Pericles, in the funeral oration recorded by Thucydides, said of the Athenians: "Their bodies they devote to their country as though they belonged to other men: their true self is their mind, which is most truly their own when employed in her service." That expresses something more than an ideal of the older democracy. How closely the life of the individual was in fact bound up with that of the state is revealed in the common use of the word πολιτεύεσθαι, *to live as a citizen*, instead of the bare term *to live*. But in the fourth century, the Athenians were living more and more their own lives, selfishly pursuing their own business or living off the state rather than for it, and craving increasingly the liberty to "do as they liked."

Isocrates' diagnosis of the trouble and his remedy for it are, no doubt, over-simple. The weakness of Athens he attributes mainly to an excess of "freedom." Pure democracy is not to his liking—a polity in which election by lot is the last word in the equalization of opportunity and the levelling of all distinctions. He pleads for a return to the restricted democracy of Solon and of Cleisthenes, in which the people possessed the sovereign power to elect their leaders, but only from the best qualified citizens,

[a] See General Introd. pp. xxxvii ff.; Jebb, *Attic Orators* ii. pp. 14 ff.

and to hold them strictly to account for their conduct in office—an aristocracy in effect. Specifically, he pleads for the restoration of the old powers of the Council of the Areopagus. That Council had in early times possessed almost unlimited authority. In Solon's time it was still the greatest power of the state, being entrusted with the guardianship of the laws, with the supervision over the education of youth, with a general censorship over the lives of the citizens, and with final authority to fine or otherwise punish offenders against law, custom, or taste.[a]

No doubt it irritated many by its conservative influence and sometimes abused its power, but it is noteworthy that it was everywhere and at all times held in high respect. Aeschylus's tribute to it in the *Eumenides*,[b] put in the mouth of Athena, the guardian deity of the state, is an eloquent expression of the common feeling :

> This Court, majestic, incorruptible,
> Instant in anger, over those who sleep,
> The sleepless watcher of my land I set.[c]

It continued to be held in awe even after Ephialtes, in the interest of a more complete democracy, had shorn it of most of its powers. But from this time on, Isocrates holds, Athenian life declined in the matter of sober living and of willing service to the state—a view in which he is supported by the circumstantial account of Aristotle in his sketch of the development of the Athenian constitution.[d]

[a] See 37, note.
[b] 683 ff.
[c] Jebb's translation.
[d] See his *Constitution of Athens* 26.

The discourse is cast in the form of an oration appropriate to be delivered before the General Assembly of Athens, and the fiction is consistently maintained throughout, although it was composed entirely for a reading public.[a]

[a] See General Introd. p. xxx.

ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΙΚΟΣ

140] Πολλοὺς ὑμῶν οἶμαι θαυμάζειν ἥντινά ποτε γνώμην ἔχων περὶ σωτηρίας τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιησάμην, ὥσπερ τῆς πόλεως ἐν κινδύνοις οὔσης ἢ σφαλερῶς αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων καθεστηκότων, ἀλλ' οὐ πλείους μὲν τριήρεις ἢ διακοσίας κεκτημένης, εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγούσης,
2 καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχούσης, ἔτι δὲ συμμάχους ἐχούσης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἑτοίμως ἡμῖν, ἤν τι δέῃ, βοηθήσοντας, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τοὺς τὰς συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιοῦντας· ὧν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμᾶς μὲν ἄν τις φήσειεν εἰκὸς εἶναι θαρρεῖν ὡς πόρρω τῶν κινδύνων ὄντας, τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις προσήκειν δεδιέναι καὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς αὑτῶν σωτηρίας.
3 Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι τούτῳ χρώμενοι τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προσόδου καταφρονεῖτε, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐλπίζετε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει κατασχήσειν· ἐγὼ δὲ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τυγχάνω δεδιώς. ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἄριστα πράττειν

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[a] Strictly, what my purpose *was*. The aorist tense reflects the fact that the Athenian orators had to give written notice, in advance, of any subject they proposed to discuss before the General Assembly. See § 15.

[b] The second Athenian Confederacy, organized in 378 B.C. See General Introd. p. xxxvii.

II. AREOPAGITICUS

Many of you are wondering, I suppose, what in the world my purpose is[a] in coming forward to address you on *the public safety*, as if Athens were in danger or her affairs on an uncertain footing, when in fact she possesses more than two hundred ships-of-war, enjoys peace throughout her territory, maintains her empire on the sea,[b] and has, furthermore, many allies who, in case of any need, will readily come to her aid,[c] and many more allies who are paying their contributions[d] and obeying her commands. With these resources, one might argue that we have every reason to feel secure, as being far removed from danger, while our enemies may well be anxious and take thought for their own safety.

Now you, I know, following this reasoning, disdain my coming forward, and are confident that with this power you will hold all Hellas under your control. But as for myself, it is because of these very things that I am anxious; for I observe that those cities

[c] He refers here, probably, to allies by special treaty as distinguished from the allies next mentioned, who were members of the Confederacy and under the leadership of Athens. The latter paid their quotas into the Athenian treasury for the support of the Confederate navy.

[d] In the second Confederacy the word σύνταξις (contribution) was used instead of φόρος (tribute) which became an odious term in the Confederacy of Delos. *Cf. Antid.* 123.

οἰομένας κάκιστα βουλευομένας καὶ τὰς μάλιστα θαρρούσας εἰς πλείστους κινδύνους καθισταμένας.
4 αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἐστίν, ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτὸ παραγίγνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ συντέτακται καὶ συνακολουθεῖ τοῖς μὲν πλούτοις καὶ ταῖς δυναστείαις ἄνοια καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἀκολασία, ταῖς δ' ἐνδείαις καὶ ταῖς
[141] ταπεινότησι σωφροσύνη καὶ πολλὴ μετριότης,
5 ὥστε χαλεπὸν εἶναι διαγνῶναι ποτέραν ἄν τις δέξαιτο τῶν μερίδων τούτων τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὑτοῦ καταλιπεῖν. ἴδοιμεν γὰρ ἂν ἐκ μὲν τῆς φαυλοτέρας εἶναι δοκούσης ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὰς πράξεις ἐπιδιδούσας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς κρείττονος φαινομένης ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον εἰθισμένας
6 μεταπίπτειν. καὶ τούτων ἐνεγκεῖν ἔχω παραδείγματα πλεῖστα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν πραγμάτων, πυκνοτάτας γὰρ ταῦτα λαμβάνει τὰς μεταβολάς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μείζω γε καὶ φανερώτερα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἡμῖν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβάντων. ἡμεῖς τε γὰρ ἀναστάτου μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων γεγενημένης διὰ τὸ δεδιέναι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπρωτεύσαμεν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀνυπέρβλητον ᾠήθημεν τὴν δύναμιν ἔχειν, παρὰ
7 μικρὸν ἤλθομεν ἐξανδραποδισθῆναι· Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐκ φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν πόλεων

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[a] See General Introd. p. xxxiii.

[b] *Cf. Archid.* 103 ff.

[c] Athens, then an unwalled city, was temporarily abandoned by her people before the Battle of Salamis, and destroyed by the troops of Xerxes. After the Persian Wars, she became the head of the Confederacy of Delos. See *Archid.* 42 ff., and *Paneg.* 71-72.

which think they are in the best circumstances are wont to adopt the worst policies, and that those which feel the most secure are most often involved in danger. The cause of this is that nothing of either good or of evil visits mankind unmixed, but that riches and power are attended and followed by folly, and folly in turn by licence;[a] whereas poverty and lowliness are attended by sobriety and great moderation; so that it is hard to decide which of these lots one should prefer to bequeath to one's own children. For we shall find that from a lot which seems to be inferior men's fortunes generally advance to a better condition,[b] whereas from one which appears to be superior they are wont to change to a worse. Of this truth I might cite examples without number from the lives of individual men, since these are subject to the most frequent vicissitudes; but instances which are more important and better known to my hearers may be drawn from the experiences of our city and of the Lacedaemonians. As for the Athenians, after our city had been laid waste by the barbarians, we became, because we were anxious about the future and gave attention to our affairs, the foremost of the Hellenes;[c] whereas, when we imagined that our power was invincible, we barely escaped being enslaved.[d] Likewise the Lacedaemonians, after having set out in ancient times from obscure and humble cities, made themselves, because

[d] At the end of the Peloponnesian War, Athens was at the mercy of Sparta and the Spartan allies. The latter proposed that Athens be utterly destroyed and her citizens sold into slavery, but the Spartans refused to allow the city "which had done a great service to Hellas" to be reduced to slavery. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 19-20. *Cf. Peace* 78, 105; *Plataicus* 32; *Antid.* 319.

ὁρμηθέντες διὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ζῆν καὶ στρατιωτικῶς κατέσχον Πελοπόννησον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μεῖζον φρονήσαντες τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ λαβόντες καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχήν, εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους κατέστησαν ἡμῖν.

8 Ὅστις οὖν εἰδὼς τοσαύτας μεταβολὰς γεγενημένας καὶ τηλικαύτας δυνάμεις οὕτω ταχέως ἀναιρεθείσας πιστεύει τοῖς παροῦσι, λίαν ἀνόητός ἐστιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἡμῶν πολὺ καταδεέστερον νῦν πραττούσης ἢ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, τοῦ δὲ μίσους τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς πρὸς βασιλέα πάλιν ἀνακεκαινισμένης, ἃ τότε κατεπολέμησεν ἡμᾶς.

9 Ἀπορῶ δὲ πότερον ὑπολάβω μηδὲν μέλειν ὑμῖν τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἢ φροντίζειν μὲν αὐτῶν, εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἀναισθησίας ἥκειν ὥστε λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς εἰς ὅσην ταραχὴν ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν. ἐοίκατε γὰρ οὕτω διακειμένοις ἀνθρώποις, οἵτινες ἁπάσας μὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἀπολωλεκότες, πλείω δ' ἢ χίλια τάλαντα μάτην εἰς
10 τοὺς ξένους ἀνηλωκότες, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας διαβεβλημένοι καὶ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πολέμιοι γεγονότες,

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[a] See *Paneg.* 61 ; *Panath.* 253 ff.

[b] The Spartan supremacy began with the triumph over Athens in 404 B.C. and ended with the defeat at Leuctra, 371 B.C. See Vol. I. p. 402, footnote. *Cf. Phil.* 47. After Leuctra, Athens, in her turn, saved Sparta from destruction. See *Phil.* 44 and note.

[c] For the language *cf. Archid.* 48.

[d] By the bitter "Social War." See General Introd. p. xxxviii.

they lived temperately and under military discipline, masters of the Peloponnesus;[a] whereas later, when they grew overweening and seized the empire both of the sea and of the land, they fell into the same dangers as ourselves.[b]

Whoever, therefore, knowing that such great vicissitudes have taken place and that such mighty powers have been so quickly brought to naught, yet trusts in our present circumstances, is all too foolish,[c] especially since Athens is now in a much less favourable condition than she was at that time, while the hatred[d] of us among the Hellenes and the enmity[e] of the great King, which then brought disaster to our arms, have been again revived.

I am in doubt whether to suppose that you care nothing for the public welfare or that you are concerned about it, but have become so obtuse that you fail to see into what utter confusion our city has fallen. For you resemble men in that state of mind—you who have lost all the cities in Thrace,[f] squandered to no purpose more than a thousand talents on mercenary troops,[g] provoked the ill-will of the Hellenes and the hostility of the barbarians, and, as if this were not enough, have been compelled

[e] In the course of the "Social War," the Athenian general Chares had aided the satrap Artabazus in his revolt against Artaxerxes III. See Diodorus xvi. 22.

[f] Not all the cities on the northern coast of the Aegean (Thrace), but those on the Chalcidian peninsula, notably Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, and Olynthus, which had fallen under the power or under the influence of Philip of Macedon. See Demosthenes' first *Philippic* 4.

[g] Athenian forces were now largely made up of paid foreigners, recruited from everywhere. See *Peace* 44–47; Demosthenes' first *Philippic* 20.

ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν Θηβαίων φίλους σώζειν ἠναγ-
[142] κασμένοι, τοὺς δ' ἡμετέρους αὐτῶν συμμάχους
ἀπολωλεκότες, ἐπὶ τοιαύταις πράξεσιν εὐαγγέλια
μὲν δὶς ἤδη τεθύκαμεν, ῥᾳθυμότερον δὲ περὶ
αὐτῶν ἐκκλησιάζομεν τῶν πάντα τὰ δέοντα
πραττόντων.

11 Καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ ποιοῦμεν καὶ πάσχομεν·
οὐδὲν γὰρ οἷόντε γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τρόπον τοῖς μὴ
καλῶς περὶ ὅλης τῆς διοικήσεως βεβουλευμένοις,
ἀλλ' ἐὰν καὶ κατορθώσωσι περί τινας τῶν πράξεων
ἢ διὰ τύχην ἢ δι' ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν, μικρὸν δια-
λιπόντες πάλιν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπορίας κατέστησαν.
καὶ ταῦτα γνοίη τις ἂν ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς γεγενη-
12 μένων· ἁπάσης γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν
ἡμῶν ὑποπεσούσης καὶ μετὰ τὴν Κόνωνος ναυ-
μαχίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν Τιμοθέου στρατηγίαν,
οὐδένα χρόνον τὰς εὐτυχίας κατασχεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν,
ἀλλὰ ταχέως διεσκαριφησάμεθα καὶ διελύσαμεν
αὐτάς. πολιτείαν γὰρ τὴν ὀρθῶς ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι
χρησαμένην οὔτ' ἔχομεν οὔτε καλῶς ζητοῦμεν.
13 καίτοι τὰς εὐπραγίας ἅπαντες ἴσμεν καὶ παραγιγνο-
μένας καὶ παραμενούσας οὐ τοῖς τὰ τείχη κάλλιστα
καὶ μέγιστα περιβεβλημένοις, οὐδὲ τοῖς μετὰ
πλείστων ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον συν-

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[a] Probably the Messenians, who had been made independent of Sparta by the Thebans. See Introduction to *Archidamus*. Demosthenes, in his speech *For the Megalopolitans*, criticizes the Athenians for their folly in pledging themselves to aid the Messenians against Spartan aggression. See especially § 9.

[b] Such powerful states as Chios, Byzantium, and Rhodes were lost to the Athenian Confederacy by the peace following the "Social War." Of the seventy-five cities which belonged to the Confederacy the majority remained loyal. See § 2.

to save the friends of the Thebans [a] at the cost of losing our own allies [b]; and yet to celebrate the good news of such accomplishments we have twice now offered grateful sacrifices to the gods,[c] and we deliberate about our affairs more complaisantly than men whose actions leave nothing to be desired!

And it is to be expected that acting as we do we should fare as we do; for nothing can turn out well for those who neglect to adopt a sound policy for the conduct of their government as a whole. On the contrary, even if they do succeed in their enterprises now and then, either through chance or through the genius of some man,[d] they soon after find themselves in the same difficulties as before, as anyone may see from what happened in our own history. For when all Hellas fell under the power of Athens, after the naval victory of Conon and the campaign of Timotheus, we were not able to hold our good fortune any time at all, but quickly dissipated and destroyed it.[e] For we neither possess nor do we honestly seek to obtain a polity which can properly deal with our affairs. And yet we all know that success does not visit and abide with those who have built around themselves the finest and the strongest walls,[f] nor with those who have collected the greatest popula-

[c] Diodorus (xvi. 22) records the celebration in Athens of the victory of Chares, supporting the rebellion of the Satrap Artabazus, over Artaxerxes III. See § 8, note. The occasion of the second celebration is not known.

[d] The reference is to the victorious campaigns of Conon and his son Timotheus. See *Paneg.* 142, 154; *Phil.* 61-64; *Antid.* 107 ff.

[e] In the disastrous "Social War."

[f] *Cf.* Thuc. vii. 77: ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί. Also Alcaeus fr. 28, 29 L.C.L., and Sir William Jones, *What Constitutes a State.*

ἠθροισμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄριστα καὶ σωφρονέστατα
14 τὴν αὑτῶν πόλιν διοικοῦσιν. ἔστι γὰρ ψυχὴ
πόλεως οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ πολιτεία, τοσαύτην ἔχουσα
δύναμιν ὅσην περ ἐν σώματι φρόνησις. αὕτη γάρ
ἐστιν ἡ βουλευομένη περὶ ἁπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἀγαθὰ διαφυλάττουσα, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς διαφεύ-
γουσα. ταύτῃ καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας
καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι,
καὶ πράττειν οὕτως ἑκάστους οἵαν περ ἂν ταύτην
15 ἔχωσιν. ἧς ἡμεῖς διεφθαρμένης οὐδὲν φροντίζομεν,
οὐδὲ σκοποῦμεν ὅπως ἐπανορθώσομεν αὐτήν· ἀλλ᾽
ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καθίζοντες κατηγοροῦμεν
τῶν καθεστώτων, καὶ λέγομεν ὡς οὐδέποτ᾽ ἐν
δημοκρατίᾳ κάκιον ἐπολιτεύθημεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις αἷς ἔχομεν μᾶλλον
αὐτὴν ἀγαπῶμεν τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων κατα-
λειφθείσης.

Ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐγὼ καὶ τοὺς λόγους μέλλω ποιεῖσθαι
16 καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον ἀπεγραψάμην. εὑρίσκω γὰρ
[143] ταύτην μόνην ἂν γενομένην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων
κινδύνων ἀποτροπὴν καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν
ἀπαλλαγήν, ἢν ἐθελήσωμεν ἐκείνην τὴν δημο-
κρατίαν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἣν Σόλων μὲν ὁ δημοτικώτατος
γενόμενος ἐνομοθέτησε, Κλεισθένης δὲ ὁ τοὺς
τυράννους ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καταγαγὼν
17 πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέστησεν. ἧς οὐκ ἂν εὕροιμεν
οὔτε δημοτικωτέραν οὔτε τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον συμ-

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[a] *Cf. Panath.* 138 ; Aristotle, *Politics* 1295 a 40 ; Demosthenes, *Against Timocr.* 210.

[b] In the market-place, especially the barber shops.

tion in one place, but rather with those who most nobly and wisely govern their state. For the soul of a state is nothing else than its polity,[a] having as much power over it as does the mind over the body; for it is this which deliberates upon all questions, seeking to preserve what is good and to ward off what is disastrous; and it is this which of necessity assimilates to its own nature the laws, the public orators and the private citizens; and all the members of the state must fare well or ill according to the kind of polity under which they live. And yet we are quite indifferent to the fact that our polity has been corrupted, nor do we even consider how we may redeem it. It is true that we sit around in our shops[b] denouncing the present order and complaining that never under a democracy have we been worse governed, but in our actions and in the sentiments which we hold regarding it we show that we are better satisfied with our present democracy than with that which was handed down to us by our forefathers.

It is in favour of the democracy of our forefathers that I intend to speak, and this is the subject on which I gave notice that I would address you. For I find that the one way—the only possible way—which can avert future perils from us and deliver us from our present ills is that we should be willing to restore that earlier democracy which was instituted by Solon, who proved himself above all others the friend of the people, and which was re-established by Cleisthenes, who drove out the tyrants and brought the people back into power—a government than which we could find none more favourable to the populace or more advantageous to the

φέρουσαν. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνῃ χρώμενοι, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπραξάμενοι καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμήσαντες, παρ' ἑκόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ τῆς νῦν παρούσης ἐπιθυμήσαντες, ὑπὸ πάντων μισηθέντες καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες, μικρὸν ἀπέλιπον τοῦ μὴ ταῖς ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς περι-
18 πεσεῖν. καίτοι πῶς χρὴ ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπαινεῖν ἢ στέργειν τὴν τοσούτων μὲν κακῶν αἰτίαν πρότερον γενομένην, νῦν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον φερομένην; πῶς δ' οὐ χρὴ δεδιέναι μὴ τοιαύτης ἐπιδόσεως γιγνομένης τελευτῶντες εἰς τραχύτερα πράγματα τῶν τότε γενομένων ἐξοκείλωμεν;

19 Ἵνα δὲ μὴ συλλήβδην μόνον ἀκηκοότες, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ποιῆσθε καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῶν, ὑμέτερον μὲν ἔργον ἐστὶ παρασχεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, ἐγὼ δ' ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι συντομώτατα περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων πειράσομαι διελθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

20 Οἱ γὰρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τὴν πόλιν διοικοῦντες κατεστήσαντο πολιτείαν οὐκ ὀνόματι μὲν τῷ κοινοτάτῳ καὶ πραοτάτῳ προσαγορευομένην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων οὐ τοιαύτην τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι φαινομένην, οὐδ' ἣ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπαίδευε τοὺς πολίτας ὥσθ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν δημοκρατίαν, τὴν δὲ παρανομίαν ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν

[a] For Solon and Cleisthenes as the authors of the restricted

whole city.[a] The strongest proof of this is that those who enjoyed this constitution wrought many noble deeds, won the admiration of all mankind, and took their place, by the common consent of the Hellenes, as the leading power of Hellas; whereas those who were enamoured of the present constitution made themselves hated of all men, suffered many indignities, and barely escaped falling into the worst of all disasters.[b] And yet how can we praise or tolerate a government which has in the past been the cause of so many evils and which is now year by year ever drifting on from bad to worse? And how can we escape the fear that if we continue to progress after this fashion we may finally run aground on rocks more perilous than those which at that time loomed before us?

But in order that you may make a choice and come to a decision between the two constitutions, not from the summary statement you have just heard, but from exact knowledge, it behoves you, for your part, to render yourselves attentive to what I say, while I, for my part, shall try to explain them both to you as briefly as I can.

For those who directed the state in the time of Solon and Cleisthenes did not establish a polity which in name merely was hailed as the most impartial and the mildest of governments, while in practice showing itself the opposite to those who lived under it, nor one which trained the citizens in such fashion that they looked upon insolence as democracy, lawlessness as liberty, impudence of speech as equal-

democracy of Athens *cf. Antid.* 232. For Isocrates' political ideas see General Introd. p. xxxviii.

[b] *Cf.* § 6 and note.

δὲ παρρησίαν ἰσονομίαν, τὴν δ' ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πάντα[1] ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀλλὰ μισοῦσα καὶ κολάζουσα τοὺς τοιούτους βελτίους καὶ σωφρονεστέρους ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ἐποίησεν.

21 Μέγιστον δ' αὐτοῖς συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὸ καλῶς
[144] οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι δυοῖν ἰσοτήτοιν νομιζομέναιν εἶναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ταὐτὸν ἅπασιν ἀπονεμούσης τῆς δὲ τὸ προσῆκον ἑκάστοις, οὐκ ἠγνόουν τὴν χρησιμωτέραν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦσαν τοὺς χρηστοὺς καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀπεδοκίμαζον
22 ὡς οὐ δικαίαν οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἕκαστον τιμῶσαν καὶ κολάζουσαν προῃροῦντο, καὶ διὰ ταύτης ᾤκουν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐξ ἁπάντων τὰς ἀρχὰς κληροῦντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους ἐφ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἔργων προκρίνοντες. τοιούτους γὰρ ἤλπιζον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἷοί περ ἂν ὦσιν οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστατοῦντες.

23 Ἔπειτα καὶ δημοτικωτέραν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν ἢ τὴν διὰ τοῦ λαγχάνειν γιγνομένην· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ κληρώσει τὴν τύχην βραβεύσειν, καὶ πολλάκις λήψεσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς τοὺς ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιθυμοῦντας, ἐν δὲ τῷ προκρίνειν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους τὸν δῆμον ἔσεσθαι κύριον

[1] πάντα Coray (*cf. Panath.* 131): ταῦτα MSS.

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[a] For similar caricatures of the later Athenian democracy see Thuc. iii. 82. 4 ff., and especially Plato, *Republic* 560-561.

[b] For these two kinds of equality *cf. Nicocles* 14 ff.; *To Nicocles* 14; Plato, *Republic* 558 c, and *Laws* 757 B, C; Aristotle, *Politics* 1301 a 26 ff.

[c] The method of electing the various magistrates changed from time to time, and is much less simple than Isocrates here represents it to be. For example, election of the chief

ity, and licence to do what they pleased as happiness,[a] but rather a polity which detested and punished such men and by so doing made all the citizens better and wiser.

But what contributed most to their good government of the state was that of the two recognized kinds of equality—that which makes the same award to all alike and that which gives to each man his due[b]—they did not fail to grasp which was the more serviceable; but, rejecting as unjust that which holds that the good and the bad are worthy of the same honours, and preferring rather that which rewards and punishes every man according to his deserts, they governed the city on this principle, not filling the offices by lot from all the citizens,[c] but selecting the best and the ablest for each function of the state; for they believed that the rest of the people would reflect the character of those who were placed in charge of their affairs.

Furthermore they considered that this way of appointing magistrates was also more democratic than the casting of lots, since under the plan of election by lot chance would decide the issue and the partizans of oligarchy would often get the offices; whereas under the plan of selecting the worthiest men, the people would have in their

magistrates, the archons, by lot (though from a previously selected group) is at least as old as Solon. On the other hand, in Isocrates' day officers who had supervision over military and financial affairs were elected by "show of hands" in the General Assembly. See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* (Eng. trans.) pp. 216 ff. It seems clear, however, that after Cleisthenes all classes of citizens, the poor as well as the rich, became eligible to the offices (Plutarch, *Aristides* 22) and that election by lot became increasingly a device to further pure democracy.

ἑλέσθαι τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας μάλιστα τὴν καθεστῶσαν πολιτείαν.

24 Αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν καὶ μὴ περιμαχήτους εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅτι μεμαθηκότες ἦσαν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ φείδεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων ἀμελεῖν τοῖς δ' ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύειν, μηδ' ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν διοικεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἑκάστοις ὑπαρχόντων, εἴ ποτε δεήσειε, τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπαρκεῖν, μηδ' ἀκριβέστερον εἰδέναι τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχείων προσόδους ἢ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γιγνομένας αὐτοῖς.
25 οὕτω δ' ἀπείχοντο σφόδρα τῶν τῆς πόλεως, ὥστε χαλεπώτερον ἦν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις εὑρεῖν τοὺς βουλομένους ἄρχειν ἢ νῦν τοὺς μηδὲν δεομένους· οὐ γὰρ ἐμπορίαν ἀλλὰ λειτουργίαν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἐσκόπουν ἐλθόντες εἴ τι λῆμμα παραλελοίπασιν οἱ πρότερον ἄρχοντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον εἴ τινος πράγματος κατημελήκασι τῶν τέλος ἔχειν κατεπειγόντων.

26 Ὡς δὲ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι διεγνωκότες ἦσαν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μὲν δῆμον ὥσπερ τύραννον καθιστάναι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἐξαμαρ-
[145] τάνοντας καὶ κρίνειν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων,

[a] He is thinking of pay, not only for the magistrates, but for attendance at the sessions of the jury courts, of the General Assembly, etc. See *Peace* 130. Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens* 24) states that since the changes which were introduced by Aristides over twenty thousand Athenians earned their livelihood in public service of one sort or another. In the same work (62) he gives a brief sketch of the pay for such services.

[b] For the public spirit of the old democracy see *Paneg.* 76 ; *Peace* 42 ff. ; *Panath.* 145 ff.

hands the power to choose those who were most attached to the existing constitution.

The reason why this plan was agreeable to the majority and why they did not fight over the offices was because they had been schooled to be industrious and frugal, and not to neglect their own possessions and conspire against the possessions of others, and not to repair their own fortunes out of the public funds,[a] but rather to help out the commonwealth, should the need arise, from their private resources,[b] and not to know more accurately the incomes derived from the public offices than those which accrued to them from their own estates. So severely did they abstain from what belonged to the state that it was harder in those days to find men who were willing to hold office [c] than it is now to find men who are not begging for the privilege; for they did not regard a charge over public affairs as a chance for private gain but as a service to the state; neither did they from their first day in office seek to discover whether their predecessors had overlooked any source of profit, but much rather whether they had neglected any business of the state which pressed for settlement.

In a word, our forefathers had resolved that the people, as the supreme master of the state, should appoint the magistrates, call to account those who failed in their duty, and judge in cases of dispute; while those citizens who could afford

[c] *Cf. Panath.* 146; Plato, *Republic* 347 B, 520 D; Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive*: "No one ever teaches well who wants to teach or governs well who wants to govern: it is an old saying (Plato's, but I know not if his first) and as wise as old."

τοὺς δὲ σχολὴν ἄγειν δυναμένους καὶ βίον ἱκανὸν κεκτημένους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ὥσπερ
27 οἰκέτας, καὶ δικαίους μὲν γενομένους ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ στέργειν ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ, κακῶς δὲ διοικήσαντας μηδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν ἀλλὰ ταῖς μεγίσταις ζημίαις περιπίπτειν. καίτοι πῶς ἄν τις εὕροι ταύτης βεβαιοτέραν ἢ δικαιοτέραν δημοκρατίαν, τῆς τοὺς μὲν δυνατωτάτους ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις καθιστάσης, αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων τὸν δῆμον κύριον ποιούσης;

28 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύνταγμα τῆς πολιτείας τοιοῦτον ἦν αὐτοῖς· ῥᾴδιον δ' ἐκ τούτων καταμαθεῖν ὡς καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ὀρθῶς καὶ νομίμως πράττοντες διετέλεσαν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοῖς περὶ ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων καλὰς τὰς ὑποθέσεις πεποιημένοις καὶ τὰ μέρη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἔχειν ἐκείνοις.

29 Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἄρχεσθαι δίκαιον, οὐκ ἀνωμάλως οὐδ' ἀτάκτως οὔτ' ἐθεράπευον οὔτ' ὠργίαζον· οὐδ' ὁπότε μὲν δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, τριακοσίους βοῦς ἔπεμπον, ὁπότε δὲ τύχοιεν, τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ἐξέλειπον· οὐδὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιθέτους ἑορτάς, αἷς ἑστίασίς τις προσείη,

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[a] Aristotle (*Politics* 1274 a 15 ff.) states that Solon gave to the populace the sovereign power of selecting their magistrates and of calling them to account, though the selection had to be made from "men of reputation and means."

[b] The same idea is developed in *Panath.* 147.

[c] This is almost a poetic formula. *Cf.* Alcman fr. 3; Theocritus xvii. 1; Aratus, *Phaenomena* 1.

[d] The reference is, apparently, to special or occasional

the time and possessed sufficient means[a] should devote themselves to the care of the commonwealth, as servants of the people, entitled to receive commendation if they proved faithful to their trust, and contenting themselves with this honour, but condemned, on the other hand, if they governed badly, to meet with no mercy, but to suffer the severest punishment.[b] And how, pray, could one find a democracy more stable or more just than this, which appointed the most capable men to have charge of its affairs but gave to the people authority over their rulers?

Such was the constitution of their polity, and from this it is easy to see that also in their conduct day by day they never failed to act with propriety and justice; for when people have laid sound foundations for the conduct of the whole state it follows that in the details of their lives they must reflect the character of their government.

First of all as to their conduct towards the gods—for it is right to begin with them[c]—they were not erratic or irregular in their worship of them or in the celebration of their rites; they did not, for example, drive three hundred oxen in procession to the altar,[d] when it entered their heads to do so, while omitting, when the caprice seized them, the sacrifices instituted by their fathers;[e] neither did they observe on a grand scale the festivals imported

festivals such as those mentioned in § 10. He may have in mind here the festival held in honour of Chares' victory over Artaxerxes III., since that Athenian general was so generously paid by Artabazus that he could afford to contribute a drove of cattle for the celebration. See Diodorus xvi. 22.

[e] *Cf. To Nicocles* 20.

μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἦγον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις τῶν
30 ἱερῶν ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων ἔθυον· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον
ἐτήρουν, ὅπως μηδὲν μήτε τῶν πατρίων κατα-
λύσουσι μήτ' ἔξω τῶν νομιζομένων προσθήσουσιν·
οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πολυτελείαις ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὴν
εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μηδὲν κινεῖν ὧν αὐτοῖς οἱ
πρόγονοι παρέδοσαν. καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τὰ παρὰ
τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἐμπλήκτως οὐδὲ ταραχωδῶς αὐτοῖς
συνέβαινεν, ἀλλ' εὐκαίρως καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν
τῆς χώρας καὶ πρὸς τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν.
31 Παραπλησίως δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τὰ πρὸς
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διῴκουν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῶν
κοινῶν ὡμονόουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἴδιον βίον
τοσαύτην ἐποιοῦντο πρόνοιαν ἀλλήλων, ὅσην περ
χρὴ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας καὶ πατρίδος κοινωνοῦντας.
[146] οἵ τε γὰρ πενέστεροι τῶν πολιτῶν τοσοῦτον
32 ἀπεῖχον τοῦ φθονεῖν τοῖς πλείω κεκτημένοις, ὥσθ'
ὁμοίως ἐκήδοντο τῶν οἴκων τῶν μεγάλων ὥσπερ
τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐκείνων εὐ-
δαιμονίαν αὑτοῖς εὐπορίαν ὑπάρχειν· οἵ τε τὰς οὐσίας
ἔχοντες οὐχ ὅπως ὑπερεώρων τοὺς καταδεέστερον
πράττοντας, ἀλλ' ὑπολαμβάνοντες αἰσχύνην αὑτοῖς
εἶναι τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπορίαν ἐπήμυνον ταῖς
ἐνδείαις, τοῖς μὲν γεωργίας ἐπὶ μετρίαις μισθώ-
σεσι παραδιδόντες, τοὺς δὲ κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἐκπέμ-
ποντες, τοῖς δ' εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐργασίας ἀφορμὴν
33 παρέχοντες. οὐ γὰρ ἐδεδίεσαν μὴ δυοῖν θάτερον
πάθοιεν, ἢ πάντων στερηθεῖεν, ἢ πολλὰ πράγματα

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[a] Athens was very hospitable to foreign cults, whose novelty and display made them popular and caused the old-fashioned rites to be observed perfunctorily.

from abroad,[a] whenever these were attended by a feast, while contracting with the lowest bidder for the sacrifices demanded by the holiest rites of their religion. For their only care was not to destroy any institution of their fathers and to introduce nothing which was not approved by custom, believing that reverence consists, not in extravagant expenditures, but in disturbing none of the rites which their ancestors had handed on to them. And so also the gifts of the gods were visited upon them, not fitfully or capriciously, but seasonably both for the ploughing of the land and for the ingathering of its fruits.

In the same manner also they governed their relations with each other. For not only were they of the same mind regarding public affairs, but in their private life as well they showed that degree of consideration for each other which is due from men who are right-minded and partners in a common fatherland. The less well-to-do among the citizens were so far from envying those of greater means that they were as solicitous for the great estates as for their own, considering that the prosperity of the rich was a guarantee of their own well-being. Those who possessed wealth, on the other hand, did not look down upon those in humbler circumstances, but, regarding poverty among their fellow-citizens as their own disgrace, came to the rescue of the distresses of the poor, handing over lands to some at moderate rentals, sending out some to engage in commerce, and furnishing means to others to enter upon various occupations; for they had no fear that they might suffer one of two things—that they might lose their whole investment or recover,

σχόντες μέρος τι κομίσαιντο τῶν προεθέντων· ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἐθάρρουν περὶ τῶν ἔξω δεδομένων ὥσπερ περὶ τῶν ἔνδον κειμένων. ἑώρων γὰρ τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων κρίνοντας οὐ ταῖς ἐπιεικείαις χρωμένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις πειθομένους,
34 οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀδικεῖν ἐξουσίαν παρασκευάζοντας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὀργιζομένους τοῖς ἀποστεροῦσιν αὐτῶν τῶν ἀδικουμένων, καὶ νομίζοντας διὰ τοὺς ἄπιστα τὰ συμβόλαια ποιοῦντας μείζω βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς πένητας τῶν πολλὰ κεκτημένων· τοὺς μὲν γάρ, ἢν παύσωνται προϊέμενοι, μικρῶν προσόδων ἀποστερηθήσεσθαι, τοὺς δ', ἢν ἀπορήσωσι τῶν ἐπαρκούντων, εἰς τὴν
35 ἐσχάτην ἔνδειαν καταστήσεσθαι. καὶ γάρ τοι διὰ τὴν γνώμην ταύτην οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἀπεκρύπτετο τὴν οὐσίαν οὔτ' ὤκνει συμβάλλειν, ἀλλ' ἥδιον ἑώρων τοὺς δανειζομένους ἢ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας. ἀμφότερα γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνέβαινεν, ἅπερ ἂν βουληθεῖεν ἄνθρωποι νοῦν ἔχοντες· ἅμα γὰρ τούς τε πολίτας ὠφέλουν καὶ τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐνεργὰ καθίστασαν. κεφάλαιον δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀλλήλοις ὁμιλεῖν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ κτήσεις ἀσφαλεῖς ἦσαν, οἷσπερ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπῆρχον, αἱ δὲ χρήσεις κοιναὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν πολιτῶν.

36 Ἴσως ἂν οὖν τις ἐπιτιμήσειε τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὅτι τὰς μὲν πράξεις ἐπαινῶ τὰς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς

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[a] That is, their own sense of right and wrong (almost their sympathy) as distinguished from the legal sense. See Aristotle's distinction between equity and justice in *Rhet.* 1374 b 21. "The arbitrator," he says, "looks to equity; the judge, to law."

[b] *Cf. Antid.* 142, where he charges the Athenian juries

after much trouble, only a mere fraction of their venture; on the contrary, they felt as secure about the money which was lent out as about that which was stored in their own coffers. For they saw that in cases of contract the judges were not in the habit of indulging their sense of equity [a] but were strictly faithful to the laws; and that they did not in trying others seek to make it safe for themselves to disobey the law,[b] but were indeed more severe on defaulters than were the injured themselves, since they believed that those who break down confidence in contracts do a greater injury to the poor than to the rich; for if the rich were to stop lending, they would be deprived of only a slight revenue, whereas if the poor should lack the help of their supporters they would be reduced to desperate straits. And so because of this confidence no one tried to conceal his wealth [c] nor hesitated to lend it out, but, on the contrary, the wealthy were better pleased to see men borrowing money than paying it back; for they thus experienced the double satisfaction—which should appeal to all right-minded men—of helping their fellow-citizens and at the same time making their own property productive for themselves. In fine, the result of their dealing honourably with each other was that the ownership of property was secured to those to whom it rightfully belonged, while the enjoyment of property was shared by all the citizens who needed it.

But perhaps some might object to what I have said on the ground that I praise the conditions of

with condoning depravity in others in order to make depravity safe for themselves.

[c] As now, from the sycophants. See *Antid.* 8, note. The present state of affairs is described in *Antid.* 159 ff.

[147] χρόνοις γεγενημένας, τὰς δ' αἰτίας οὐ φράζω, δι'
ἃς οὕτω καλῶς καὶ τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶχον καὶ
τὴν πόλιν διῴκουν. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν εἰρηκέναι
τι καὶ τοιοῦτον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔτι πλείω καὶ σαφέ-
στερον πειράσομαι διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν.

37 Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐν μὲν ταῖς παιδείαις πολλοὺς
τοὺς ἐπιστατοῦντας εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς ἄνδρας
δοκιμασθεῖεν, ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅ τι βουληθεῖεν,
ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀκμαῖς πλέονος ἐπιμελείας
ἐτύγχανον ἢ παῖδες ὄντες. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ
πρόγονοι σφόδρα περὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην ἐσπούδαζον,
ὥστε τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἐπέστησαν
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εὐκοσμίας, ἧς οὐχ οἷόντ' ἦν
μετασχεῖν πλὴν τοῖς καλῶς γεγονόσι καὶ πολλὴν
ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐνδεδειγμένοις,
ὥστ' εἰκότως αὐτὴν διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι
38 συνεδρίων. σημείοις δ' ἄν τις χρήσαιτο περὶ τῶν
τότε καθεστώτων καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι γιγνο-

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[a] In 20-27.

[b] See Plato (*Protagoras* 325 c ff.) for a picture of the education of Athenian boys.

[c] Literally, when they are approved for manhood. At the age of eighteen, the Athenian youth submitted himself to an examination on his qualifications for citizenship.

[d] In early times, the Council, according to Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens* 3), not only had the duty of guarding the laws, but was the main factor in the government of the city, and punished at its discretion "all who misbehaved themselves." It even selected the magistrates for the several offices (*ib.* 8). Under Solon the Council kept its most important powers: it superintended the laws and guarded the constitution, exercised a censorship over the citizens "in the most important matters," and corrected offenders, having plenary authority to inflict punishment (*ib.* 8). Under Cleisthenes its powers declined, but because of its wise and patriotic initiative in the Persian Wars it

life as they were in those days, but neglect to explain the reasons why our forefathers managed so well both in their relations with each other and in their government of the state. Well, I have already touched upon that question,[a] but in spite of that I shall now try to discuss it even more fully and more clearly.

The Athenians of that day were not watched over by many preceptors [b] during their boyhood only to be allowed to do what they liked when they attained to manhood; [c] on the contrary, they were subjected to greater supervision in the very prime of their vigour than when they were boys. For our forefathers placed such strong emphasis upon sobriety that they put the supervision of decorum in charge of the Council of the Areopagus [d]—a body which was composed exclusively of men who were of noble birth [e] and had exemplified in their lives exceptional virtue and sobriety, and which, therefore, naturally excelled all the other councils of Hellas. And we may judge what this institution was at that time even by what happens at the present day; for even

became again the supreme influence of the state (*ib.* 23), and remained so until, under the leadership of Ephialtes, its important powers of supervision and censorship were taken from it and distributed to the Senate of the Five Hundred, the General Assembly, and the Heliastic juries (*ib.* 25).

[e] The Council was made up of ex-archons, who, after successfully passing an examination at the end of their terms of office to determine their fitness, became members of the Areopagus for life. The archons were at first " selected under qualifications of birth and of wealth." See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 3. After the " reforms " of Ephialtes, the property qualification was dropped, the only requirement being that of genuine citizenship. See Plutarch, *Aristides*.

μένοις· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἁπάντων τῶν περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν κατημελημένων ἴδοιμεν ἂν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγμασιν οὐκ ἀνεκτοὺς ὄντας, ἐπειδὰν εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἀναβῶσιν, ὀκνοῦντας τῇ φύσει χρῆσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐκεῖ νομίμοις ἢ ταῖς αὑτῶν κακίαις ἐμμένοντας. τοσοῦτον φόβον ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐνειργάσαντο, καὶ τοιοῦτο μνημεῖον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς αὑτῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐγκατέλιπον.

39 Τὴν δὴ τοιαύτην, ὥσπερ εἶπον, κυρίαν ἐποίησαν τῆς εὐταξίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἣ τοὺς μὲν οἰομένους ἐνταῦθα βελτίστους ἄνδρας γίγνεσθαι, παρ' οἷς οἱ νόμοι μετὰ πλείστης ἀκριβείας κείμενοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἀγνοεῖν ἐνόμιζεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν κωλύειν ὁμοίους ἅπαντας εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἕνεκά γε τοῦ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν παρ' ἀλλήλων.
40 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τούτων τὴν ἐπίδοσιν εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων· τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς ὁμοίους τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀποβαίνειν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἕκαστοι παιδευθῶσιν. ἔπειτα τά γε[1] πλήθη καὶ τὰς ἀκριβείας τῶν νόμων σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν
[148] ταύτην· ἐμφράγματα γὰρ αὐτοὺς ποιουμένους τῶν

[1] ἔπειτα τά γε Schneider: ἐπεὶ τά γε MSS.

[a] With special reference to the archons, who became members of the Areopagus. He means that they were no longer taken necessarily from the best class of citizens. They did, however, have to undergo an examination (εὔθυνα) on their conduct in office at the end of their term, and a further examination (δοκιμασία) before the Council of the Areopagus to determine their worthiness to become members of that body. See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*

now, when everything connected with the election and the examination of magistrates [a] has fallen into neglect, we shall find that those who in all else that they do are insufferable, yet when they enter the Areopagus hesitate to indulge their true nature, being governed rather by its traditions than by their own evil instincts. So great was the fear which its members inspired in the depraved and such was the memorial of their own virtue and sobriety which they left behind them in the place of their assembly.

Such, then, as I have described, was the nature of the Council which our forefathers charged with the supervision of moral discipline—a council which considered that those who believed that the best citizens are produced in a state where the laws are prescribed with the greatest exactness [b] were blind to the truth; for in that case there would be no reason why all of the Hellenes should not be on the same level, at any rate in so far as it is easy to borrow written codes from each other. But in fact, they thought, virtue is not advanced by written laws but by the habits of every-day life; for the majority of men tend to assimilate the manners and morals amid which they have been reared. Furthermore, they held that where there is a multitude of specific laws, it is a sign that the state is badly governed; [c] for it is in the attempt to build up dikes against the spread of crime that

p. 282. What such an examination was like is described by Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 55. Perhaps such examinations became largely perfunctory, and this may be the ground of Isocrates' complaint.

[b] *Cf. Paneg.* 78; *Panath.* 144.

[c] For this idea that the multiplication of laws is a symptom of degeneracy see Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 27: corruptissima republica plurimae leges.

ἁμαρτημάτων πολλοὺς τίθεσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀναγ-
41 κάζεσθαι. δεῖν δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολιτευομένους οὐ τὰς στοὰς ἐμπιπλάναι γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔχειν τὸ δίκαιον· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἤθεσι καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κακῶς τεθραμμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀκριβῶς τῶν νόμων ἀναγεγραμμένους τολμήσειν παραβαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ καλῶς πεπαιδευμένους καὶ τοῖς
42 ἁπλῶς κειμένοις ἐθελήσειν ἐμμένειν. ταῦτα διανοηθέντες οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐσκόπουν, δι' ὧν κολάσουσι τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν παρασκευάσουσι μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἄξιον ζημίας ἐξαμαρτάνειν· ἡγοῦντο γὰρ τοῦτο μὲν αὑτῶν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας σπουδάζειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς προσήκειν.

43 Ἁπάντων μὲν οὖν ἐφρόντιζον τῶν πολιτῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων. ἑώρων γὰρ τοὺς τηλικούτους ταραχωδέστατα διακειμένους καὶ πλείστων γέμοντας ἐπιθυμιῶν, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν μάλιστα δαμασθῆναι δεομένας ἐπιμελείαις καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πόνοις ἡδονὰς ἔχουσιν· ἐν μόνοις γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐμμεῖναι τοὺς ἐλευθέρως τεθραμμένους καὶ μεγαλοφρονεῖν εἰθισμένους.

44 Ἅπαντας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἄγειν διατριβὰς οὐχ οἷόντ' ἦν, ἀνωμάλως τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον ἔχοντας· ὡς δὲ πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν ἥρμοττεν, οὕτως ἑκάστοις προσέταττον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑποδεέστερον πράττοντας ἐπὶ τὰς γεωργίας καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἔτρεπον,

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[a] Since Solon's time, Athenian laws were posted on pillars in the "King's Portico," by the market-place. See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 7.

men in such a state feel constrained to multiply the laws. Those who are rightly governed, on the other hand, do not need to fill their porticoes [a] with written statutes, but only to cherish justice in their souls; for it is not by legislation, but by morals, that states are well directed, since men who are badly reared will venture to transgress even laws which are drawn up with minute exactness, whereas those who are well brought up will be willing to respect even a simple code.[b] Therefore, being of this mind, our forefathers did not seek to discover first how they should penalize men who were lawless, but how they should produce citizens who would refrain from any punishable act; for they thought that this was their duty, while it was proper for private enemies alone to be zealous in the avenging of crime.[c]

Now our forefathers exercised care over all the citizens, but most of all over the young. They saw that at this age men are most unruly of temper and filled with a multitude of desires,[d] and that their spirits are most in need of being curbed by devotion to noble pursuits and by congenial labour; for only such occupations can attract and hold men who have been educated liberally and trained in high-minded ways.

However, since it was not possible to direct all into the same occupations, because of differences in their circumstances, they assigned to each one a vocation which was in keeping with his means; for they turned the needier towards farming and trade, know-

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic* 425 A ff.

[c] The initiative in bringing criminals to justice was left largely to private citizens, any one of whom might bring charges before a court.

[d] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws* 808 D.

εἰδότες τὰς ἀπορίας μὲν διὰ τὰς ἀργίας γιγνο-
45 μένας, τὰς δὲ κακουργίας διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας· ἀν-
αιροῦντες οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξειν
ᾤοντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων τῶν μετ'
ἐκείνην γιγνομένων. τοὺς δὲ βίον ἱκανὸν κεκτη-
μένους περὶ τὴν ἱππικὴν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰ
κυνηγέσια καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἠνάγκασαν δια-
τρίβειν, ὁρῶντες ἐκ τούτων τοὺς μὲν διαφέροντας
γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ τῶν πλείστων κακῶν ἀπ-
εχομένους.

46 Καὶ ταῦτα νομοθετήσαντες οὐδὲ τὸν λοιπὸν
[149] χρόνον ὠλιγώρουν, ἀλλὰ διελόμενοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν
κατὰ κώμας τὴν δὲ χώραν κατὰ δήμους ἐθεώρουν
τὸν βίον τὸν ἑκάστου, καὶ τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας
ἀνῆγον εἰς τὴν βουλήν. ἡ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐνουθέτει,
τοῖς δ' ἠπείλει, τοὺς δ' ὡς προσῆκεν ἐκόλαζεν.
ἠπίσταντο γὰρ ὅτι δύο τρόποι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες
οἱ καὶ προτρέποντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ παύοντες
47 τῶν πονηριῶν· παρ' οἷς μὲν γὰρ μήτε φυλακὴ
μηδεμία τῶν τοιούτων καθέστηκε μήθ' αἱ κρίσεις
ἀκριβεῖς εἰσι, παρὰ τούτοις μὲν διαφθείρεσθαι
καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς τῶν φύσεων, ὅπου δὲ μήτε
λαθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι μήτε φανεροῖς
γενομένοις συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐξι-
τήλους γίγνεσθαι τὰς κακοηθείας. ἅπερ ἐκεῖνοι
γιγνώσκοντες ἀμφοτέροις κατεῖχον τοὺς πολίτας,
καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις· τοσούτου

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[a] That is, in training for the races at the festivals.

[b] There were three gymnasiums in Athens: the Lyceum, the Academy, and the Cynosarges.

ing that poverty comes about through idleness, and evil-doing through poverty. Accordingly, they believed that by removing the root of evil they would deliver the young from the sins which spring from it. On the other hand, they compelled those who possessed sufficient means to devote themselves to horsemanship,[a] athletics,[b] hunting,[c] and philosophy,[d] observing that by these pursuits some are enabled to achieve excellence, others to abstain from many vices.

But when they had laid down these ordinances they were not negligent regarding what remained to be done, but, dividing the city into districts and the country into townships, they kept watch over the life of every citizen,[e] haling the disorderly before the Council, which now rebuked, now warned, and again punished them according to their deserts. For they understood that there are two ways both of encouraging men to do wrong and of checking them from evil-doing; for where no watch is kept over such matters and the judgements are not strict, there even honest natures grow corrupt; but where, again, it is not easy for wrong-doers either to escape detection or, when detected, to obtain indulgence, there the impulse to do evil disappears. Understanding this, they restrained the people from wrong-doing in both ways—both by punishment and by watchfulness; for

[c] In Aristophanes' *Knights*, 1382 ff., the reformed Demos declares that it will henceforth make all these demagogues take to hunting and give up concocting "decrees" for the Assembly.

[d] The cultivated life. See *Paneg.* 47 ff.

[e] The supervision of the young through guardians appointed by districts survives in the later period. See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 42.

γὰρ ἔδεον αὐτοὺς λανθάνειν οἱ κακόν τι δεδρακότες, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδόξους ἁμαρτήσεσθαί τι
48 προῃσθάνοντο. τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις οἱ νεώτεροι διέτριβον, οὐδ᾽ ἐν ταῖς αὐλητρίσιν, οὐδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις συλλόγοις ἐν οἷς νῦν διημερεύουσιν· ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔμενον ἐν οἷς ἐτάχθησαν, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ζηλοῦντες τοὺς ἐν τούτοις πρωτεύοντας. οὕτω δ᾽ ἔφευγον τὴν ἀγοράν, ὥστ᾽ εἰ καί ποτε διελθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖεν, μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐφαίνοντο
49 τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. ἀντειπεῖν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἢ λοιδορήσασθαι δεινότερον ἐνόμιζον ἢ νῦν περὶ τοὺς γονέας ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδ᾽ ἂν οἰκέτης ἐπιεικὴς ἐτόλμησεν· σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐμελέτων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ βωμολοχεύεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς εὐτραπέλους δὲ καὶ τοὺς σκώπτειν δυναμένους, οὓς νῦν εὐφυεῖς προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δυστυχεῖς ἐνόμιζον.

50 Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με δυσκόλως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ταύτην ἔχοντας τὴν ἡλικίαν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτους αἰτίους εἶναι τῶν γιγνομένων, σύνοιδά τε τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἥκιστα χαίρουσι ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δι᾽ ἣν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀκολασίαις ταύταις διατρίβειν· ὥστ᾽ οὐκ ἂν
[150] εἰκότως τούτοις ἐπιτιμῴην, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον τοῖς ὀλίγῳ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν διοικήσασιν.
51 ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προτρέψαντες ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς

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[a] The same picture of degeneracy is found in *Antid.* 287. *Cf.* Theopompus in Athenaeus 532 d.

[b] *Cf.* Aristophanes, *Clouds* 991; Plato, *Theaet.* 173 c, d.

[c] *Cf.* Aristophanes, *Clouds* 998.

[d] The same expression is used in *Antid.* 286.

[e] *Cf.* *Antid.* 284.

so far from failing to detect those who had gone astray, they actually saw in advance who were likely to commit some offence. Therefore the young men did not waste their time in the gambling-dens or with the flute-girls or in the kind of company in which they now spend their days,[a] but remained steadfastly in the pursuits to which they had been assigned, admiring and emulating those who excelled in these. And so strictly did they avoid the market-place that even when they were at times compelled to pass through it, they were seen to do this with great modesty and sobriety of manner.[b] To contradict one's elders or to be impudent to them[c] was then considered more reprehensible than it is nowadays to sin against one's parents; and to eat or drink in a tavern was something which no one, not even an honest slave, would venture to do;[d] for they cultivated the manners of a gentleman, not those of a buffoon; and as for those who had a turn for jesting and playing the clown, whom we to-day speak of as clever wits, they were then looked upon as sorry fools.[e]

But let no one suppose that I am out of temper with the younger generation: I do not think that they are to blame for what goes on, and in fact I know that most of them are far from pleased with a state of affairs which permits them to waste their time in these excesses; so that I cannot in fairness censure them, when it is much more just to rest the blame upon those who directed the city a little before our time;[f] for it was they who led on our youth to

[f] He is thinking of Ephialtes and those who, following in his footsteps, made Athens more "democratic." Aristotle says that following the archonship of Ephialtes "the administration of the state became more and more lax," *Const. of Athens* 26.

ὀλιγωρίας καὶ καταλύσαντες τὴν τῆς βουλῆς δύναμιν. ἧς ἐπιστατούσης οὐ δικῶν οὐδ' ἐγκλημάτων οὐδ' εἰσφορῶν οὐδὲ πενίας οὐδὲ πολέμων ἡ πόλις ἔγεμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡσυχίαν εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας εἰρήνην ἦγον. παρεῖχον γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησι
52 πιστούς, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις φοβερούς· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ σεσωκότες ἦσαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν δίκην τηλικαύτην εἰληφότες, ὥστ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐκείνους εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι κακὸν πάσχοιεν.

Τοιγάρτοι διὰ ταῦτα μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀσφαλείας διῆγον, ὥστε καλλίους εἶναι καὶ πολυτελεστέρας τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἢ τὰς ἐντὸς τείχους, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν μηδ' εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνειν, ἀλλ' αἱρεῖσθαι μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀγαθοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ
53 τῶν κοινῶν ἀπολαύειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὰς θεωρίας, ὧν ἕνεκ' ἄν τις ἦλθεν, ἀσελγῶς οὐδ' ὑπερηφάνως ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐχόντως ἐποίουν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πομπῶν οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς χορηγίας φιλονεικιῶν οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀλαζονειῶν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐδοκίμαζον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σωφρόνως

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[a] It was not yet the "litigious Athens," ridiculed in Aristophanes' *Wasps*.

[b] By the sycophants especially. See *Antid.* 8, note.

[c] Special taxes levied for war purposes on the well-to-do citizens.

[d] Athens was impoverished by her wars, *Peace* 19.

[e] *Cf.* 80 and *Paneg.* 117-118.

[f] Demosthenes contrasts the magnificence of the temples and public buildings in Athens with the unpretentiousness of private houses in the "good old days" when the house

this spirit of heedlessness and destroyed the power of the Areopagus. For while this Council maintained its authority, Athens was not rife with law-suits,[a] or accusations,[b] or tax-levies,[c] or poverty,[d] or war; on the contrary, her citizens lived in accord with each other and at peace with mankind, enjoying the good will of the Hellenes and inspiring fear in the barbarians; for they had saved the Hellenes from destruction and had punished the barbarians so severely that the latter were well content if only they might suffer no further injury.[e]

And so, because of these things, our forefathers lived in such a degree of security that the houses and establishments in the country were finer and more costly than those within the city-walls,[f] and many of the people never visited Athens even for the festivals, preferring to remain at home in the enjoyment of their own possessions rather than share in the pleasures dispensed by the state. For even the public festivals, which might otherwise have drawn many to the city, were not conducted with extravagance or ostentation, but with sane moderation, since our people then measured their well-being, not by their processions or by their efforts to outdo each other in fitting out the choruses,[g] or by any such empty shows, but by the sobriety of their govern-

of a Miltiades or of an Aristides was no finer than any other, third *Olynthiac* 25 ff.

[g] The training and fitting out of a chorus for a dramatic festival was one of the services (liturgies) rendered to the state by the more wealthy citizens. See *Peace* 128, note. Isocrates here complains of the expensive and ostentatious rivalry in such matters. See below: "garments spangled with gold." The cost of such a service in some cases amounted to as much as five thousand drachmas.

οἰκεῖν καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπορεῖν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

Ἐξ ὧνπερ χρὴ κρίνειν τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς εὖ
54 πράττοντας καὶ μὴ φορτικῶς πολιτευομένους· ἐπεὶ νῦν γε τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἀλγήσειεν, ὅταν ἴδῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοὺς μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, εἴθ' ἕξουσιν εἴτε μή, πρὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων κληρουμένους, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἐλαύνειν τὰς ναῦς βουλομένους τρέφειν ἀξιοῦντας, καὶ χορεύοντας μὲν ἐν χρυσοῖς ἱματίοις, χειμάζοντας δ' ἐν τοιούτοις ἐν οἷς οὐ βούλομαι λέγειν, καὶ τοιαύτας ἄλλας ἐναντιώσεις περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν γιγνομένας, αἳ μεγάλην αἰσχύνην τῇ πόλει ποιοῦσιν;

55 Ὧν οὐδὲν ἦν ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς βουλῆς· ἀπήλλαξε γὰρ τοὺς μὲν πένητας τῶν ἀποριῶν ταῖς ἐργασίαις
[151] καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων ὠφελίαις, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους τῶν ἀκολασιῶν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ταῖς αὑτῶν ἐπιμελείαις, τοὺς δὲ πολιτευομένους τῶν πλεονεξιῶν ταῖς τιμωρίαις καὶ τῷ μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους τῶν ἀθυμιῶν ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς πολιτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρων θεραπείαις. καίτοι πῶς ἂν

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[a] Six thousand citizens were selected by lot each year to constitute the "Heliastic" Court. These were divided into ten sections of five hundred each, one thousand being held in reserve as substitutes. The number of jurymen required varied from day to day, and each morning the required number was picked out by lot. Service on the jury was at first without pay, but now (and since Pericles) the pay was three obols a day—a paltry sum, but fought for by the populace, to many of whom this meant "bread and butter." *Cf. Peace* 130 ; *Antid.* 152.

ment, by the manner of their daily life, and by the absence of want among all their citizens.

These are the standards by which one should judge whether people are genuinely prosperous and not living in vulgar fashion. For as things now are, who among intelligent men can fail to be chagrined at what goes on, when we see many of our fellow-citizens drawing lots in front of the law-courts to determine whether they themselves shall have the necessaries of life,[a] yet thinking it proper to support at their expense any of the Hellenes who will deign to row their ships;[b] appearing in the public choruses in garments spangled with gold, yet living through the winter in clothing which I refuse to describe; and showing other contradictions of the same kind in their conduct of affairs, which bring great shame upon the city?

Nothing of the sort happened when the Areopagus was in power; for it delivered the poor from want by providing them with work and with assistance from the wealthy, the young from excesses by engaging them in occupations and by watching over them, the men in public life from the temptations of greed by imposing punishments and by letting no wrong-doer escape detection, and the older men from despondency by securing to them public honours and the devotion of the young. How then could there

[b] At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Athenian triremes (ships of war) were commanded by citizens, but the crews (rowers) were made up of hirelings recruited from everywhere—the scum of the earth, according to *Peace* 79. At that time the soldiers were Athenian citizens. Later the reverse was true: the fleet was manned by citizens, while the land troops were mercenaries. See *Peace* 48.

γένοιτο ταύτης πλείονος ἀξία πολιτεία, τῆς οὕτω καλῶς ἁπάντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμεληθείσης;

56 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ποτὲ καθεστώτων τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα διεληλύθαμεν· ὅσα δὲ παραλελοίπαμεν, ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι κἀκεῖνα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἶχε τούτοις, ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι καταμαθεῖν. ἤδη δέ τινες ἀκούσαντές μου ταῦτα διεξιόντος ἐπῄνεσαν μὲν ὡς οἷόντε μάλιστα, καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐμακάρισαν
57 ὅτι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον τὴν πόλιν διῴκουν, οὐ μὴν ὑμᾶς γε ᾤοντο πεισθήσεσθαι χρῆσθαι τούτοις, ἀλλ' αἱρήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἐν τοῖς καθεστηκόσι πράγμασι κακοπαθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ πολιτείας ἀκριβεστέρας ἄμεινον τὸν βίον διάγειν. εἶναι δ' ἔφασαν ἐμοὶ καὶ κίνδυνον, μὴ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύων μισόδημος εἶναι δόξω καὶ τὴν πόλιν ζητεῖν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.

58 Ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν περὶ πραγμάτων ἀγνοουμένων καὶ μὴ κοινῶν τοὺς λόγους ἐποιούμην, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐκέλευον ὑμᾶς ἑλέσθαι συνέδρους ἢ συγγραφέας, δι' ὧν ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη τὸ πρότερον, εἰκότως ἂν εἶχον ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν· νῦν δ' οὐδὲν εἴρηκα τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ διείλεγμαι περὶ διοικήσεως
59 οὐκ ἀποκεκρυμμένης ἀλλὰ πᾶσι φανερᾶς, ἣν πάντες ἴστε καὶ πατρίαν ἡμῖν οὖσαν καὶ πλείστων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν αἰτίαν γεγενημένην, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν νομοθετηθεῖσαν καὶ κατασταθεῖσαν, οὓς

[a] The ready retort of demagogues to any critic of ochlocracy. See *Antid.* 318 and note; Aristophanes, *Plutus* 570.

[b] The very word (συγγραφεῖς) which was used of the board of twenty men appointed to make recommendations of a change in the constitution before the establishment of the oligarchy of the Four Hundred, 411 B.C.

be a polity of greater worth than this, which so excellently watched over all the interests of the state?

I have now discussed most of the features of the constitution as it once was, and those which I have passed over may readily be judged from those which I have described, since they are of the same character. However, certain people who have heard me discuss this constitution, while praising it most unreservedly and agreeing that our forefathers were fortunate in having governed the state in this fashion, have nevertheless expressed the opinion that you could not be persuaded to adopt it, but that, because you have grown accustomed to the present order, you would prefer to continue a wretched existence under it rather than enjoy a better life under a stricter polity; and they warned me that I even ran the risk, although giving you the very best advice, of being thought an enemy of the people and of seeking to turn the state into an oligarchy.[a]

Well, if I were proposing a course which was unfamiliar and not generally known, and if I were urging you to appoint a committee or a commission[b] to consider it, which was the means through which the democracy was done away with before, there might be some reason for this charge. I have, however, proposed nothing of the kind, but have been discussing a government whose character is hidden from no one, but evident to all—one which, as you all know, is a heritage from our fathers, which has been the source of numberless blessings both to Athens and to the other states of Hellas, and which was, besides, ordained and established by men who

*οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε δημοτικωτάτους
γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν. ὥστε πάντων ἄν μοι
συμβαίη δεινότατον, εἰ τοιαύτην πολιτείαν εἰσ-
ηγούμενος νεωτέρων δόξαιμι πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖν.*

60 *Ἔπειτα κἀκεῖθεν ῥᾴδιον γνῶναι τὴν ἐμὴν*
[152] *διάνοιαν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν λόγων τῶν
εἰρημένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φανήσομαι ταῖς μὲν ὀλιγ-
αρχίαις καὶ ταῖς πλεονεξίαις ἐπιτιμῶν, τὰς δ'
ἰσότητας καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας ἐπαινῶν, οὐ πάσας,
ἀλλὰ τὰς καλῶς καθεστηκυίας, οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχον,*
61 *ἀλλὰ δικαίως καὶ λόγον ἐχόντως. οἶδα γὰρ τούς
τε προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κατα-
στάσει πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διενεγκόντας, καὶ Λακε-
δαιμονίους διὰ τοῦτο κάλλιστα πολιτευομένους,
ὅτι μάλιστα δημοκρατούμενοι τυγχάνουσιν. ἐν γὰρ
τῇ τῶν ἀρχῶν αἱρέσει καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ καθ'
ἡμέραν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἴδοιμεν ἂν
παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰς ἰσότητας καὶ τὰς ὁμοιότητας
μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσχυούσας· οἷς αἱ μὲν
ὀλιγαρχίαι πολεμοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ καλῶς δημοκρατού-
μενοι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν.*

62 *Τῶν τοίνυν ἄλλων πόλεων ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις
καὶ μεγίσταις, ἣν ἐξετάζειν βουληθῶμεν, εὑρή-
σομεν τὰς δημοκρατίας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας
συμφερούσας· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πολιτείαν,
ᾗ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσιν, ἢν παραβάλωμεν αὐτὴν μὴ
πρὸς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ῥηθεῖσαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπὸ
τῶν τριάκοντα καταστᾶσαν, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν*

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[a] Those who did, not what the people liked, but what was for their good. So Solon is called δημοτικώτατος, 16.

[b] See especially *Paneg.* 105 ff.; General Introd. p. xxxviii.

[c] Exclusive of the Perioeci and the Helots. See Aristotle, *Politics* 1294 b 18 ff.

would be acknowledged by all the world to have been the best friends of the people[a] among the citizens of Athens; so that it would be of all things most absurd if I, in seeking to introduce such a polity, should be suspected of favouring revolution.

Furthermore, it is easy to judge of my purpose from the fact that in most of the discourses[b] which I have written, you will find that I condemn oligarchies and special privileges, while I commend equal rights and democratic governments—not all of them, but those which are well-ordered, praising them not indiscriminately, but on just and reasonable grounds. For I know that under this constitution our ancestors were far superior to the rest of the world, and that the Lacedaemonians are the best governed of peoples because they are the most democratic;[c] for in their selection of magistrates, in their daily life, and in their habits in general, we may see that the principles of equity and equality have greater influence than elsewhere in the world—principles to which oligarchies are hostile, while well-ordered democracies practise them continually.

Moreover, if we will examine into the history of the most illustrious and the greatest of the other states, we shall find that democratic forms of government are more advantageous for them than oligarchies. For if we compare our own government—which is criticized by everyone[d]—not with the old democracy which I have described, but with the rule which was instituted by the Thirty,[e] there is no one who would not consider our present democracy

[d] See 15.

[e] The oligarchy of the thirty "Tyrants," instituted with the help of the Spartans at the end of the Peloponnesian War, 404 B.C.

63 θεοποίητον εἶναι νομίσειεν. βούλομαι δ', εἰ καί τινές με φήσουσιν ἔξω τῆς ὑποθέσεως λέγειν, δηλῶσαι καὶ διελθεῖν ὅσον αὕτη τῆς τότε διήνεγκεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς οἴηταί με τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ δήμου λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν, εἰ δέ τι καλὸν ἢ σεμνὸν διαπέπρακται, ταῦτα δὲ παραλείπειν. ἔσται δ' ὁ λόγος οὔτε μακρὸς οὔτ' ἀνωφελὴς τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

64 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰς ναῦς τὰς περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπωλέσαμεν καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐκείναις ἡ πόλις περιέπεσε, τίς οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς μὲν δημοτικοὺς καλουμένους ἑτοίμους ὄντας ὁτιοῦν πάσχειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον, καὶ δεινὸν ἡγουμένους εἴ τις ὄψεται τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρξασαν, ταύτην ὑφ' ἑτέροις οὖσαν, τοὺς δὲ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιθυμήσαντας ἑτοίμως καὶ τὰ τείχη καθαιροῦντας καὶ τὴν δουλείαν ὑπο-
65 μένοντας; καὶ τότε μέν, ὅτε τὸ πλῆθος ἦν κύριον
[153] τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡμᾶς τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροπόλεις φρουροῦντας, ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα παρέλαβον τὴν πολιτείαν, τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔχοντας; καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον δεσπότας ἡμῶν ὄντας Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ φεύγοντες κατελθόντες πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐτόλμησαν καὶ Κόνων ναυμαχῶν ἐνίκησε, πρέσβεις ἐλθόντας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ διδόντας
66 τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν τῆς θαλάττης; καὶ μὲν

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[a] At the Battle of Arginusae, 406 B.C., the beginning of the end of the Peloponnesian War.

[b] Many of them had been exiled by the Thirty or had fled for their lives. Thrasybulus placed himself at their head, defeated the Thirty in battle, and restored the democracy. See Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 10 ff.

[c] One of the terms insisted on by Lysander was that the

a divine creation. And I desire, even though some will complain that I am straying from my subject, to expound and to explain how much superior this government is to that of the Thirty, in order that I may not be accused of scrutinizing too minutely the mistakes of our democracy, while overlooking the many fine things which it has achieved. I promise, however, that the story will not be long or without profit to my hearers.

When we lost our fleet in the Hellespont [a] and our city was plunged into the disasters of that time, who of our older men does not know that the "people's party," [b] as they were called, were ready to go to any length of hardship to avoid doing what the enemy commanded, deeming it monstrous that anyone should see the city which had ruled over the Hellenes in subjection to another state, whereas the partisans of oligarchy were ready both to tear down the walls [c] and to submit to slavery? Or that at the time when the people were in control of affairs, we placed our garrisons in the citadels of other states, whereas when the Thirty took over the government, the enemy occupied the Acropolis of Athens? [d] Or, again, that during the rule of the Thirty the Lacedaemonians were our masters, but that when the exiles returned and dared to fight for freedom, and Conon won his naval victory,[e] ambassadors came from the Lacedaemonians and offered Athens the command of the sea? [f] Yes,

"long walls" connecting Athens with the Piraeus be demolished.

[d] Lysander kept a Spartan garrison on the Acropolis during the rule of the Thirty. See *Peace* 92; *Antid.* 319.

[e] The Battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C., re-established the power of Athens.

[f] See *Evagoras* 68.

δὴ καὶ τάδε τίς οὐ μνημονεύει τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, τὴν μὲν δημοκρατίαν οὕτω κοσμήσασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις, ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους νομίζειν αὐτὴν ἀξίαν εἶναι μὴ μόνον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, τοὺς δὲ τριάκοντα τῶν μὲν ἀμελήσαντας, τὰ δὲ συλήσαντας, τοὺς δὲ νεωσοίκους ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τριῶν ταλάντων ἀποδομένους, εἰς οὓς ἡ πόλις ἀνήλωσεν οὐκ ἐλάττω
67 χιλίων ταλάντων; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν πραότητα δικαίως ἄν τις ἐπαινέσειε τὴν ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν τοῦ δήμου. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσματι παραλαβόντες τὴν πόλιν πεντακοσίους μὲν καὶ χιλίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, εἰς δὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ φυγεῖν πλείους ἢ πεντακισχιλίους ἠνάγκασαν· οἱ δὲ κρατήσαντες καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων κατιόντες, αὐτοὺς τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους τῶν κακῶν ἀνελόντες, οὕτω τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους καλῶς καὶ νομίμως διῴκησαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔλαττον ἔχειν
68 τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας τῶν κατελθόντων. ὃ δὲ πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τεκμήριον τῆς ἐπιεικείας τοῦ δήμου· δανεισαμένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἄστει μεινάντων ἑκατὸν τάλαντα παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν τῶν τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατασχόντων, ἐκκλησίας γενομένης περὶ ἀποδόσεως τῶν

[a] In almost the same terms he praises Pericles for his adornment of Athens, *Antid.* 234.

[b] The bitterest denunciation of the misrule of the Thirty is in the oration *Against Eratosthenes*, by Lysias. At its close, he speaks of the sacrilege of the Thirty, particularly in selling off the treasures stored in the temples, and of their tearing down the dockyards of the Piraeus.

[c] An example of irony (litotes), a figure sparingly used by Isocrates. *Cf.* " outworn " in *Paneg.* 92.

and who of my own generation does not remember that the democracy so adorned the city with temples and public buildings that even to-day visitors from other lands consider that she is worthy to rule not only over Hellas but over all the world;[a] while the Thirty neglected the public buildings, plundered the temples, and sold for destruction for the sum of three talents the dockyards[b] upon which the city had spent not less than a thousand talents? And surely no one could find grounds to praise the mildness[c] of the Thirty as against that of the people's rule! For when the Thirty took over the city, by vote of the Assembly,[d] they put to death fifteen hundred Athenians[e] without a trial and compelled more than five thousand to leave Athens and take refuge in the Piraeus,[f] whereas when the exiles overcame them and returned to Athens under arms, these put to death only the chief perpetrators of their wrongs and dealt so generously and so justly by the rest[g] that those who had driven the citizens from their homes fared no worse than those who had returned from exile. But the best and strongest proof of the fairness of the people is that, although those who had remained in the city had borrowed a hundred talents from the Lacedaemonians[h] with which to prosecute the siege of those who occupied the Piraeus, yet later when an assembly of the people was held to consider the payment of the debt, and

[d] Under duress. See Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 2.

[e] The same number is given in *Against Lochites* 11.

[f] Only those enjoyed the franchise under the Thirty who were in the catalogue of the approved "three thousand." See *Against Callimachus* 17.

[g] *Cf.* Plato, *Menex.* 243 E.

[h] See Lysias, *Against Eratosthenes* 59.

χρημάτων, καὶ λεγόντων πολλῶν ὡς δίκαιόν ἐστι
διαλύειν τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ τοὺς πολι-
ορκουμένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς δανεισαμένους, ἔδοξε τῷ
69 δήμῳ κοινὴν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν. καὶ γάρ
τοι διὰ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην εἰς τοιαύτην ἡμᾶς
[154] ὁμόνοιαν κατέστησαν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδοῦναι τὴν
πόλιν ἐποίησαν, ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίους, τοὺς ἐπὶ
τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν
ἡμέραν προστάττοντας ἡμῖν, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς δημο-
κρατίας ἱκετεύσοντας καὶ δεησομένους μὴ περιιδεῖν
αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους γενομένους. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφά-
λαιον τῆς ἑκατέρων διανοίας τοιοῦτον ἦν· οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ἠξίουν τῶν μὲν πολιτῶν ἄρχειν, τοῖς δὲ
πολεμίοις δουλεύειν, οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄρχειν,
τοῖς δὲ πολίταις ἴσον ἔχειν.

70 Ταῦτα δὲ διῆλθον δυοῖν ἕνεκα, πρῶτον μὲν
ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλόμενος οὐκ ὀλιγαρχιῶν
οὐδὲ πλεονεξιῶν ἀλλὰ δικαίας καὶ κοσμίας ἐπι-
θυμοῦντα πολιτείας, ἔπειτα τὰς δημοκρατίας τάς
τε κακῶς καθεστηκυίας ἐλαττόνων συμφορῶν
αἰτίας γιγνομένας, τάς τε καλῶς πολιτευομένας
προεχούσας τῷ δικαιοτέρας εἶναι καὶ κοινοτέρας
καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἡδίους.

71 Τάχ' οὖν ἄν τις θαυμάσειε, τί βουλόμενος ἀντὶ
τῆς πολιτείας τῆς οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπεπραγ-
μένης ἑτέραν ὑμᾶς πείθω μεταλαβεῖν, καὶ τίνος
ἕνεκα νῦν μὲν οὕτω καλῶς ἐγκεκωμίακα τὴν

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[a] This is attested by Aristotle (*Const. of Athens* 40) in a passage which pays a high compliment to the admirable spirit in which the feud between the two parties was wiped out.

when many insisted that it was only fair that the claims of the Lacedaemonians should be settled, not by those who had suffered the siege, but by those who had borrowed the money, nevertheless the people voted to pay the debt out of the public treasury.[a] And in truth it was because of this spirit that they brought us into such concord with each other and so far advanced the power of the city that the Lacedaemonians, who under the rule of the oligarchy laid their commands upon us almost every day, under the rule of the people came begging and supplicating us not to allow them to be driven from their homes.[b] In a word the spirit of the two parties was this: the oligarchies were minded to rule over their fellow-citizens and be subject to their enemies; the people, to rule over the world at large and share the power of the state on equal terms with their fellow-citizens.

I have recounted these things for two reasons: because I wanted to show, in the first place, that I am not in favour of oligarchy or special privilege, but of a just and orderly government of the people, and, in the second place, that even badly constituted democracies are responsible for fewer disasters than are oligarchies, while those which are well-ordered are superior to oligarchies in that they are more just, more impartial, and more agreeable to those who live under them.

But perhaps some of you may wonder what my purpose is in trying to persuade you to exchange the polity which has achieved so many fine things for another, and why it is that after having just

[b] After the Battle of Leuctra. See *Peace* 105; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 33 ff.

δημοκρατίαν, ὅταν δὲ τύχω, πάλιν μεταβαλὼν
72 ἐπιτιμῶ καὶ κατηγορῶ τῶν καθεστώτων. ἐγὼ
δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ὀλίγα μὲν κατορθοῦντας
πολλὰ δ' ἐξαμαρτάνοντας μέμφομαι καὶ νομίζω
φαυλοτέρους εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ πρός γε τούτοις
τοὺς γεγονότας ἐκ καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ
μικρῷ μὲν ὄντας ἐπιεικεστέρους τῶν ὑπερβαλλόν-
των ταῖς πονηρίαις, πολὺ δὲ χείρους τῶν πατέρων,
λοιδορῶ, καὶ συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι
73 τοιούτοις οὖσιν. τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν γνώμην ἔχω καὶ
περὶ τῶν κοινῶν· ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ δεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐ μέγα
φρονεῖν οὐδ' ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ κακοδαιμονησάντων καὶ
μανέντων ἀνθρώπων νομιμώτεροι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ βαρέως φέρειν, εἰ
χείρους τῶν προγόνων τυγχάνοιμεν ὄντες· πρὸς
γὰρ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὴν τῶν
τριάκοντα πονηρίαν ἁμιλλητέον ἡμῖν ἐστιν, ἄλλως
τε καὶ προσῆκον ἡμῖν βελτίστοις ἁπάντων ἀνθρώ-
πων εἶναι.

74 Καὶ τοῦτον εἴρηκα τὸν λόγον οὐ νῦν πρῶτον,
[155] ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἤδη καὶ πρὸς πολλούς. ἐπίσταμαι
γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις φύσεις ἐγγιγνομένας
καρπῶν καὶ δένδρων καὶ ζώων ἰδίας ἐν ἑκάστοις
καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερούσας, τὴν δ' ἡμετέραν
χώραν ἄνδρας φέρειν καὶ τρέφειν δυναμένην οὐ
μόνον πρὸς τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς
λόγους εὐφυεστάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρίαν καὶ
πρὸς ἀρετὴν πολὺ διαφέροντας.

75 Τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ δίκαιόν ἐστι τοῖς τε παλαιοῖς
ἀγῶσιν, οὓς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας καὶ

now eulogized democracy in such high terms, I veer about capriciously and criticize and condemn the present order. Well, I reproach men in private life when they succeed in a few things and fail in many, and regard them as falling short of what they ought to be; and, more than that, when men are sprung from noble ancestors and yet are only a little better than those who are distinguished for depravity, and much worse than their fathers, I rebuke them and would counsel them to cease from being what they are. And I am of the same mind also regarding public affairs. For I think that we ought not to be proud or even satisfied should we have shown ourselves more law-regarding than men accursed by the gods and afflicted with madness,[a] but ought much rather to feel aggrieved and resentful should we prove to be worse than our ancestors; for it is their excellence and not the depravity of the Thirty which we should strive to emulate, especially since it behoves Athenians to be the best among mankind.

This is not the first time that I have expressed this sentiment; I have done so many times and before many people. For I know that while other regions produce varieties of fruits and trees and animals, each peculiar to its locality and much better than those of other lands, our own country is able to bear and nurture men who are not only the most gifted in the world in the arts and in the powers of action and of speech, but are also above all others in valour and in virtue.[b]

This conclusion we may justly draw from the ancient struggles which they carried on against the

[a] With particular reference to the Thirty.
[b] *Cf. Paneg.* 33; *Peace* 94.

Θρᾷκας καὶ Πελοποννησίους ἅπαντας, καὶ τοῖς κινδύνοις τοῖς περὶ τὰ Περσικὰ γενομένοις, ἐν οἷς καὶ μόνοι καὶ μετὰ Πελοποννησίων, καὶ πεζομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες, νικήσαντες τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀριστείων ἠξιώθησαν· ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν ἔπραξαν, εἰ μὴ πολὺ τὴν φύσιν διήνεγκαν.

76 Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω ταύτην τὴν εὐλογίαν ἡμῖν προσήκειν τοῖς νῦν πολιτευομένοις, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τοὐναντίον. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν λόγων ἔπαινος μὲν τῶν ἀξίους σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς παρεχόντων, κατηγορία δὲ τῶν τὰς εὐγενείας ταῖς αὑτῶν ῥᾳθυμίαις καὶ κακίαις καταισχυνόντων. ὅπερ ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν· εἰρήσεται γὰρ τἀληθές. τοιαύτης γὰρ ἡμῖν τῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχούσης, οὐ διεφυλάξαμεν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἐμπεπτώκαμεν εἰς ἄνοιαν καὶ ταραχὴν καὶ πονηρῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμίαν.

77 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἢν ἐπακολουθῶ τοῖς ἐνοῦσιν ἐπιτιμῆσαι καὶ κατηγορῆσαι τῶν ἐνεστώτων πραγμάτων, δέδοικα μὴ πόρρω λίαν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀποπλανηθῶ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν, καὶ πάλιν ἐροῦμεν, ἢν μὴ πείσωμεν ὑμᾶς παύσασθαι τοιαῦτ' ἐξαμαρτάνοντας· περὶ δ' ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν λόγον κατεστησάμην, βραχέα διαλεχθεὶς παραχωρῶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἔτι συμβουλεύειν περὶ τούτων.

78 Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἢν μὲν οὕτως οἰκῶμεν τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ νῦν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ καὶ βουλευσόμεθα

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[a] This paragraph sums up Athenian achievements in war which are stated at length in *Paneg.* 51-98. *Cf. Archid.* 42; *Panath.* 42 ff.

Amazons and the Thracians and all of the Peloponnesians, and also from the wars which they waged against the Persians, in which, both when they fought alone and when they were aided by the Peloponnesians, whether on land or on the sea, they were victorious over the barbarians and were adjudged the meed of valour;[a] for they could not have achieved these things, had they not far surpassed other men in the endowments of nature.

But let no one think that this eulogy is appropriate to those who compose the present government—far from it; for such words are a tribute to those who show themselves worthy of the valour of their forefathers, but a reproach to those who disgrace their noble origin by their slackness and their cowardice. And this is just what we are doing; for you shall have the truth. For although we were blessed with such a nature at our birth, we have not cherished and preserved it, but have, on the contrary, fallen into folly and confusion and lust after evil ways.

But if I go on attacking the things which admit of criticism and of censure in our present order, I fear that I shall wander too far afield from my subject. In any case I have spoken about these things before,[b] and I shall do so again if I do not succeed in persuading you to cease from such mistakes of policy. For the present, I shall speak but a few words on the theme which I proposed to discuss in the beginning and then yield the platform to any who desire to address you upon this question.

If we continue to govern Athens as we are now doing, then we are doomed to go on deliberating and

[b] See *Peace* 49 ff.

καὶ πολεμήσομεν καὶ βιωσόμεθα καὶ σχεδὸν
[156] *ἅπαντα καὶ πεισόμεθα καὶ πράξομεν, ἅπερ ἐν*
τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσι χρόνοις·
ἢν δὲ μεταβάλωμεν τὴν πολιτείαν, δῆλον ὅτι κατὰ
τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, οἷά περ ἦν τοῖς προγόνοις τὰ
πράγματα, τοιαῦτ᾽ ἔσται καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς· ἀνάγκη
γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ τὰς πράξεις
ὁμοίας ἀεὶ καὶ παραπλησίας ἀποβαίνειν.
79 *Δεῖ δὲ τὰς μεγίστας αὐτῶν παρ᾽ ἀλλήλας θέντας*
βουλεύσασθαι, ποτέρας ἡμῖν αἱρετέον ἐστίν. καὶ
πρῶτον μὲν σκεψώμεθα τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς
βαρβάρους, πῶς πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν πολιτείαν
διέκειντο καὶ πῶς νῦν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. οὐ γὰρ
ἐλάχιστον μέρος τὰ γένη ταῦτα συμβάλλεται πρὸς
80 *εὐδαιμονίαν, ὅταν ἔχῃ κατὰ τρόπον ἡμῖν. οἱ μὲν*
τοίνυν Ἕλληνες οὕτως ἐπίστευον τοῖς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον
τὸν χρόνον πολιτευομένοις, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους
αὐτῶν ἑκόντας ἐγχειρίσαι τῇ πόλει σφᾶς αὐτούς·
οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχον τοῦ πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων,
ὥστε οὔτε μακροῖς πλοίοις ἐπὶ τάδε Φασήλιδος
ἔπλεον οὔτε στρατοπέδοις ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ
81 *κατέβαινον, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον. νῦν δ᾽*
εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα περιέστηκεν, ὥσθ᾽ οἱ μὲν
μισοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμῶν.
καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ μίσους τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτῶν
ἀκηκόατε τῶν στρατηγῶν· ὡς δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχει
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὧν ἔπεμψεν ἐδήλωσεν.

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[a] *Cf. Peace* 76. [b] See *Paneg.* 118 and note; *Panath.* 59.
[c] He speaks as though addressing an actual assembly which had received reports from the generals and dispatches from the King of Persia. See Introduction, close.

waging war and living and faring and acting in almost every respect just as we do at the present moment and have done in the past; but if we effect a change of polity, it is evident by the same reasoning that such conditions of life as our ancestors enjoyed will come about for us also; for from the same political institutions there must always spring like or similar ways of life.

But we must take the most significant of these ways and, comparing one with the other, decide which is preferable for us. And first let us consider how the Hellenes and the barbarians felt towards the earlier polity as compared with how they are now disposed towards us; for other peoples contribute not the least part of our well-being when they are properly disposed towards us. Well then, the Hellenes felt such confidence in those who governed the city in those times that most of them of their own accord placed themselves under the power of Athens,[a] while the barbarians were so far from meddling in the affairs of the Hellenes that they neither sailed their ships-of-war this side of the Phaselis nor marched their armies beyond the Halys River, refraining, on the contrary, from all aggression.[b] To-day, however, circumstances are so completely reversed that the Hellenes regard Athens with hatred and the barbarians hold us in contempt. As to the hatred of us among the Hellenes, you have heard the report of our generals [c] themselves, and what the King thinks of us, he has made plain in the letters which have been dispatched by him.[d]

[d] Threatening dispatches sent to the Athenians because Chares had supported the cause of the rebel satrap Artabazus. See 8, note.

82 Ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς εὐταξίας
οὕτως ἐπαιδεύθησαν οἱ πολῖται πρὸς ἀρετήν, ὥστε
σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς μὴ λυπεῖν, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν χώραν
εἰσβάλλοντας ἅπαντας μαχόμενοι νικᾶν. ἡμεῖς δὲ
τοὐναντίον· ἀλλήλοις μὲν γὰρ κακὰ παρέχοντες
οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν διαλείπομεν, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν
πόλεμον οὕτω κατημελήκαμεν, ὥστ' οὐδ' εἰς
ἐξετάσεις ἰέναι τολμῶμεν ἢν μὴ λαμβάνωμεν
83 ἀργύριον. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον· τότε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦν
τῶν πολιτῶν ἐνδεὴς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐδὲ προσ-
αιτῶν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τὴν πόλιν κατῄσχυνε,
νῦν δὲ πλείους εἰσὶν οἱ σπανίζοντες τῶν ἐχόντων·
οἷς ἄξιόν ἐστι πολλὴν συγγνώμην ἔχειν, εἰ μηδὲν
τῶν κοινῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο σκοποῦσιν
[157] ὁπόθεν τὴν ἀεὶ παροῦσαν ἡμέραν διάξουσιν.

84 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἡγούμενος, ἢν μιμησώμεθα τοὺς
προγόνους, καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἡμᾶς τούτων ἀπαλλαγή-
σεσθαι καὶ σωτῆρας οὐ μόνον τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων γενήσεσθαι, τήν τε πρόσ-
οδον ἐποιησάμην καὶ τοὺς λόγους εἴρηκα τούτους·
ὑμεῖς δὲ πάντα λογισάμενοι ταῦτα χειροτονεῖθ'
ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ μάλιστα συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει.

Furthermore, under the discipline of the old days the citizens were so schooled in virtue as not to injure each other, but to fight and conquer all who attempted to invade their territory.[a] We, however, do the very opposite; for we never let a day go by without bringing trouble on each other, and we have so far neglected the business of war that we do not even deign to attend reviews unless we are paid money for doing so. But the greatest difference lies in the fact that in that day no one of the citizens lacked the necessaries of life nor shamed the city by begging from passers-by, whereas to-day those who are destitute of means outnumber those who possess them.[b] And we may well be patient with people in such circumstances if they care nothing for the public welfare, but consider only how they may live from day to day.

Now I have come before you and spoken this discourse, believing that if we will only imitate our ancestors we shall both deliver ourselves from our present ills and become the saviours, not of Athens alone, but of all the Hellenes;[c] but it is for you to weigh all that I have said and cast your votes according to your judgement of what is best for Athens.

[a] *Cf. Peace* 76.

[b] An exaggeration, but Isocrates dwells upon the poverty of Athens in the *Peace* also.

[c] See General Introd. p. xxxii.

III. AGAINST THE SOPHISTS

INTRODUCTION

The tract against the sophists was written, as Isocrates himself tells us in the *Antidosis*,[a] at the outset of his career as a teacher,[b] and was no doubt issued as an advertisement of the principles and methods of his school. It breaks off, however, just at the point where he proceeds to a more positive exposition of his "philosophy."[c] The fragment which has come down to us is mainly an attack upon other systems of education, with barest hints as to his own, and it seems obvious that the purpose of the whole discourse was to set the author sharply apart from the other sophists, with whom he does not wish to be confused.

For a more complete discussion both of his own and other disciplines we must go to the *Antidosis*. Here his criticism is centred upon two classes of sophists, the *Eristics*, who devoted themselves to theorizing in the field of ethics, and the sophists of the rhetorical school, who taught oratory as an instrument of practical success. Of these latter he singles out, finally, for special rebuke the authors of "the so-called arts" (of oratory).

[a] 193.

[b] About 390 B.C. See Jebb, *Attic Orators* ii. p. 127.

[c] For Isocrates' use of this word see General Introd. pp. xxvi ff.

Both classes are called to account because of their impossible pretensions : the former for professing to teach an exact science of happy and successful living and then indulging in captious logomachies which have no relation to life ; the latter for professing to teach the science or art of oratory as if it could be acquired by anyone by rote, regardless of native ability or practical experience, as one learns the letters of the alphabet. Furthermore, the authors of the " arts " might have devoted themselves to a worthy oratory whose end is justice, whereas in fact they emphasized only forensic skill, whose object is to defeat justice.[a]

[a] For a summary of his criticism of the sophists and of his own views see General Introd. pp. xx ff.

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

[291] Εἰ πάντες ἤθελον οἱ παιδεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες ἀληθῆ λέγειν, καὶ μὴ μείζους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ὧν ἔμελλον ἐπιτελεῖν, οὐκ ἂν κακῶς ἤκουον ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν· νῦν δ' οἱ τολμῶντες λίαν ἀπερισκέπτως ἀλαζονεύεσθαι πεποιήκασιν ὥστε δοκεῖν ἄμεινον βουλεύεσθαι τοὺς ῥᾳθυμεῖν αἱρουμένους τῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατριβόντων.

Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν μισήσειεν ἅμα καὶ καταφρονήσειε πρῶτον μὲν τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας διατριβόντων, οἳ προσποιοῦνται μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ζητεῖν, εὐθὺς δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων ψευδῆ λέγειν ἐπι-
2 χειροῦσιν; οἶμαι γὰρ ἅπασιν εἶναι φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ μέλλοντα προγιγνώσκειν οὐ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεώς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχομεν ταύτης

[a] Isocrates regards himself as one of the sophists (see *Antid.* 220), but sets himself apart from the "common herd" of sophists (see *Panath.* 18).

[b] Captious argumentation in the field of ethics. He is not thinking of Socrates, who did not teach for pay, nor of Plato's dialectic, which was not yet famous, but of the minor Socratics, especially Antisthenes and Eucleides, who taught for money while affecting contempt for it. In general he is thinking of such quibblers as are later shown up in Plato's *Euthydemus*. See General Introd. pp. xxi ff.

[c] Theirs is a cloud morality, not truth to live by on earth. *Cf.* 20. See General Introd. p. xxii.

[d] There is, according to Isocrates, no "science" which

AGAINST THE SOPHISTS [a]

If all who are engaged in the profession of education were willing to state the facts instead of making greater promises than they can possibly fulfil, they would not be in such bad repute with the lay-public. As it is, however, the teachers who do not scruple to vaunt their powers with utter disregard of the truth have created the impression that those who choose a life of careless indolence are better advised than those who devote themselves to serious study.

Indeed, who can fail to abhor, yes to contemn, those teachers, in the first place, who devote themselves to disputation,[b] since they pretend to search for truth, but straightway at the beginning of their professions attempt to deceive us with lies?[c] For I think it is manifest to all that foreknowledge of future events is not vouchsafed to our human nature, but that we are so far removed from this prescience[d]

can teach us to do under all circumstances the things which will insure our happiness and success. Life is too complicated for that, and no man can foresee exactly the consequences of his acts—"the future is a thing unseen." All that education can do is to develop a sound judgement (as opposed to knowledge) which will meet the contingencies of life with resourcefulness and, in most cases, with success. This is a fundamental doctrine of his "philosophy" which he emphasizes and echoes again and again in opposition to the professors of a "science of virtue and happiness." See General Introd. pp. xxvii ff.

τῆς φρονήσεως, ὥσθ' Ὅμηρος ὁ μεγίστην ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ δόξαν εἰληφὼς καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πεποίηκεν ἔστιν ὅτε βουλευομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οὐ τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην εἰδώς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἓν τοῦτο τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν.

3 Οὗτοι τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο τόλμης ἐληλύθασιν, ὥστε πειρῶνται πείθειν τοὺς νεωτέρους ὡς, ἢν αὐτοῖς πλησιάζωσιν, ἅ τε πρακτέον ἐστὶν εἴσονται καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστήμης εὐδαίμονες γενήσονται. καὶ τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν αὑτοὺς διδασκάλους καὶ κυρίους καταστήσαντες, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τρεῖς
4 ἢ τέτταρας μνᾶς ὑπὲρ τούτων αἰτοῦντες. ἀλλ' εἰ μέν τι τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων πολλοστοῦ μέρους τῆς ἀξίας ἐπώλουν, οὐκ ἂν ἠμφεσβήτησαν ὡς[1] εὖ φρονοῦντες τυγχάνουσι, σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὕτως ὀλίγου τιμῶντες, ὡς νοῦν ἔχοντες διδάσκαλοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι γίγνεσθαι. καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ὡς οὐδὲν δέονται χρημάτων, ἀργυρίδιον καὶ χρυσίδιον τὸν πλοῦτον ἀποκαλοῦντες, μικροῦ δὲ κέρδους ὀρεγόμενοι μόνον οὐκ ἀθανάτους ὑπισχνοῦνται τοὺς συνόντας
5 ποιήσειν. ὃ δὲ πάντων καταγελαστότατον, ὅτι παρὰ μὲν ὧν δεῖ λαβεῖν αὐτούς, τούτοις μὲν
[292] ἀπιστοῦσιν, οἷς μέλλουσι τὴν δικαιοσύνην παραδώσειν, ὧν δ' οὐδεπώποτε διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι,

[1] ὡς Γ pr.: ὡς οὐκ $\Gamma_5\Theta\Lambda$ and most editions.

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[a] See *Iliad* xvi. 431 ff. and 652 ff.; xxii. 168 ff.
[b] Socrates (Plato, *Apology* 20 B) speaks with the same

that Homer, who has been conceded the highest reputation for wisdom, has pictured even the gods as at times debating among themselves about the future [a]—not that he knew their minds but that he desired to show us that for mankind this power lies in the realms of the impossible.

But these professors have gone so far in their lack of scruple that they attempt to persuade our young men that if they will only study under them they will know what to do in life and through this knowledge will become happy and prosperous. More than that, although they set themselves up as masters and dispensers of goods so precious, they are not ashamed of asking for them a price of three or four minae! [b] Why, if they were to sell any other commodity for so trifling a fraction of its worth they would not deny their folly; nevertheless, although they set so insignificant a price on the whole stock of virtue and happiness, they pretend to wisdom and assume the right to instruct the rest of the world. Furthermore, although they say that they do not want money and speak contemptuously of wealth as "filthy lucre," they hold their hands out for a trifling gain and promise to make their disciples all but immortal! [c] But what is most ridiculous of all is that they distrust those from whom they are to get this money—they distrust, that is to say, the very men to whom they are about to deliver the science of just dealing—and they require that the fees advanced by their students be

sarcasm of a sophist named Evenus, who professed to teach all the virtues necessary to a good man and a good citizen for five minae.

[c] That is, to make them all but gods.

παρὰ τούτοις τὰ παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μεσεγγυοῦνται, πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν εὖ βουλευόμενοι, τῷ δ'
6 *ἐπαγγέλματι τἀναντία πράττοντες. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλο τι παιδεύοντας προσήκει διακριβοῦσθαι περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων, οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει τοὺς περὶ ἕτερα δεινοὺς γενομένους μὴ χρηστοὺς εἶναι περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια· τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην ἐνεργαζομένους πῶς οὐκ ἄλογόν ἐστι μὴ τοῖς μαθηταῖς μάλιστα πιστεύειν; οὐ γὰρ δή που περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὄντες καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι περὶ τούτους ἐξαμαρτήσονται, δι' οὓς τοιοῦτοι γεγόνασιν.*

7 *Ἐπειδὰν οὖν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τινες, ἅπαντα ταῦτα συλλογισάμενοι, κατίδωσι τοὺς τὴν σοφίαν διδάσκοντας καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν παραδιδόντας αὐτούς τε πολλῶν δεομένους καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς μικρὸν πραττομένους, καὶ τὰς ἐναντιώσεις ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων τηροῦντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων μὴ καθορῶντας, ἔτι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν μελλόντων εἰδέναι προσποιου-*
8 *μένους, περὶ δὲ τῶν παρόντων μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήτε συμβουλεῦσαι δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὁμονοοῦντας καὶ πλείω κατορθοῦντας τοὺς ταῖς δόξαις χρωμένους ἢ τοὺς τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν ἐπαγγελλομένους, εἰκότως οἶμαι καταφρονοῦσι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀδολεσχίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς.*

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[a] For their security, they required that the fees charged to their students be deposited with third parties until the end of the course.

entrusted for safe keeping [a] to those who have never been under their instruction, being well advised as to their security, but doing the opposite of what they preach. For it is permissible to those who give any other instruction to be exacting in matters open to dispute, since nothing prevents those who have been made adept in other lines of training from being dishonourable in the matter of contracts. But men who inculcate virtue and sobriety—is it not absurd if they do not trust in their own students before all others? [b] For it is not to be supposed that men who are honourable and just-dealing with others will be dishonest with the very preceptors who have made them what they are.

When, therefore, the layman puts all these things together and observes that the teachers of wisdom and dispensers of happiness are themselves in great want [c] but exact only a small fee from their students, that they are on the watch for contradictions in words [d] but are blind to inconsistencies in deeds, and that, furthermore, they pretend to have knowledge of the future but are incapable either of saying anything pertinent or of giving any counsel regarding the present, and when he observes that those who follow their judgements are more consistent and more successful [e] than those who profess to have exact knowledge, then he has, I think, good reason to contemn such studies and regard them as stuff and nonsense, and not as a true discipline of the soul.

[b] *Cf.* the same ridicule in Plato, *Gorg.* 519 C, 460 E.

[c] See the close of the *Paneg.*

[d] The aim of "eristic" (ἔρις means contention) is to show up the contradictions in the accepted morality.

[e] See 2, note *d*; *Panath.* 9; *Helen* 5.

9 Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τοὺς πολι-
τικοὺς λόγους ὑπισχνουμένοις ἄξιον ἐπιτιμῆσαι·
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας οὐδὲν φροντί-
ζουσιν, ἡγοῦνται δὲ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὴν τέχνην, ἢν ὡς
πλείστους τῇ μικρότητι τῶν μισθῶν καὶ τῷ
μεγέθει τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων προσαγάγωνται καὶ
λαβεῖν τι παρ' αὐτῶν δυνηθῶσιν· οὕτω δ' ἀναισθή-
τως αὐτοί τε διάκεινται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔχειν
ὑπειλήφασιν, ὥστε χεῖρον γράφοντες τοὺς λόγους
ἢ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τινες αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν, ὅμως
ὑπισχνοῦνται τοιούτους ῥήτορας τοὺς συνόντας
ποιήσειν ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν ἐνόντων ἐν τοῖς πράγ-
10 μασι παραλιπεῖν. καὶ ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδὲν
[293] οὔτε ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις οὔτε τῇ φύσει τῇ τοῦ μαθητοῦ
μεταδιδόασιν, ἀλλά φασιν ὁμοίως τὴν τῶν λόγων
ἐπιστήμην ὥσπερ τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων παρα-
δώσειν, ὡς μὲν ἔχει τούτων ἑκάτερον, οὐκ ἐξ-
ετάσαντες, οἰόμενοι δὲ διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν
ἐπαγγελμάτων αὐτοί τε θαυμασθήσεσθαι καὶ τὴν
παίδευσιν τὴν τῶν λόγων πλέονος ἀξίαν δόξειν
εἶναι, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι μεγάλας ποιοῦσι τὰς
τέχνας οὐχ οἱ τολμῶντες ἀλαζονεύεσθαι περὶ
αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οἵτινες ἄν, ὅσον ἔνεστιν ἐν ἑκάστῃ,
τοῦτ' ἐξευρεῖν δυνηθῶσιν.

11 Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸ πολλῶν μὲν ἂν χρημάτων ἐτιμησά-
μην τηλικοῦτον δύνασθαι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ὅσον
οὗτοι λέγουσιν, ἴσως γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς πλεῖστον
ἀπελείφθημεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλάχιστον μέρος ἀπελαύσα-

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[a] The whole field of "deliberative" oratory, but the most "useful" branch of it in "litigious Athens" was the forensic.

[b] Their interest was not in the triumph of justice but in

But it is not these sophists alone who are open to criticism, but also those who profess to teach political discourse.[a] For the latter have no interest whatever in the truth,[b] but consider that they are masters of an art if they can attract great numbers of students by the smallness of their charges and the magnitude of their professions and get something out of them. For they are themselves so stupid and conceive others to be so dull that, although the speeches which they compose are worse than those which some laymen improvise, nevertheless they promise to make their students such clever orators that they will not overlook any of the possibilities which a subject affords. More than that, they do not attribute any of this power either to the practical experience or to the native ability of the student, but undertake to transmit the science of discourse as simply as they would teach the letters of the alphabet,[c] not having taken trouble to examine into the nature of each kind of knowledge, but thinking that because of the extravagance of their promises they themselves will command admiration and the teaching of discourse will be held in higher esteem —oblivious of the fact that the arts are made great, not by those who are without scruple in boasting about them, but by those who are able to discover all of the resources which each art affords.

For myself, I should have preferred above great riches that philosophy had as much power as these men claim; for, possibly, I should not have been the very last in the profession nor had the least

making "the worse reason appear the better." See General Introd. p. xxii.

[c] See General Introd. p. xxii.

μεν αὐτῆς· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, βουλοίμην ἂν παύσασθαι τοὺς φλυαροῦντας· ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον περὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας τὰς βλασφημίας γιγνομένας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας συνδιαβαλλομένους τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διατριβὴν ὄντας.

12 Θαυμάζω δ' ὅταν ἴδω τούτους μαθητῶν ἀξιουμένους, οἳ ποιητικοῦ πράγματος τεταγμένην τέχνην παράδειγμα φέροντες λελήθασι σφᾶς αὐτούς. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε πλὴν τούτων ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν γραμμάτων ἀκινήτως ἔχει καὶ μένει κατὰ ταὐτόν, ὥστε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν χρώμενοι διατελοῦμεν, τὸ δὲ τῶν λόγων πᾶν τοὐναντίον πέπονθεν· τὸ γὰρ ὑφ' ἑτέρου ῥηθὲν τῷ λέγοντι μετ' ἐκεῖνον οὐχ ὁμοίως χρήσιμόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὗτος εἶναι δοκεῖ τεχνικώτατος, ὃς τις ἂν ἀξίως μὲν λέγῃ τῶν πραγμάτων, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν
13 τοῖς ἄλλοις εὑρίσκειν δύνηται. μέγιστον δὲ σημεῖον τῆς ἀνομοιότητος αὐτῶν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους οὐχ οἷόντε καλῶς ἔχειν, ἢν μὴ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τοῦ πρεπόντως καὶ τοῦ καινῶς ἔχειν μετάσχωσιν, τοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν οὐδενὸς τούτων προσεδέησεν. ὥσθ' οἱ χρώμενοι τοῖς τοιούτοις παραδείγμασι πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον ἀποτίνοιεν ἢ λαμβάνοιεν ἀργύριον, ὅτι πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτοὶ δεόμενοι παιδεύειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιχειροῦσιν.

14 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ μόνον κατηγορεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλὰ
[294] καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δηλῶσαι διάνοιαν, ἡγοῦμαι

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[a] *Cf. Antid.* 168.

[b] That is, mechanical formulas are not sufficient. There must be inventiveness, resourcefulness, in a word, creative imagination.

share in its profits. But since it has no such power, I could wish that this prating might cease. For I note that the bad repute which results therefrom does not affect the offenders only, but that all the rest of us who are in the same profession share in the opprobrium.[a]

But I marvel when I observe these men setting themselves up as instructors of youth who cannot see that they are applying the analogy of an art with hard and fast rules to a creative process. For, excepting these teachers, who does not know that the art of using letters remains fixed and unchanged, so that we continually and invariably use the same letters for the same purposes, while exactly the reverse is true of the art of discourse?[b] For what has been said by one speaker is not equally useful for the speaker who comes after him; on the contrary, he is accounted most skilled in this art who speaks in a manner worthy of his subject and yet is able to discover in it topics which are nowise the same as those used by others. But the greatest proof of the difference between these two arts is that oratory is good only if it has the qualities of fitness for the occasion,[c] propriety of style, and originality of treatment, while in the case of letters there is no such need whatsoever. So that those who make use of such analogies ought more justly to pay out than to accept fees, since they attempt to teach others when they are themselves in great need of instruction.

However, if it is my duty not only to rebuke others, but also to set forth my own views, I think

[c] A fundamental requisite. See *Paneg.* 9; *Helen* 11, Vol. III., L.C.L.

πάντας ἄν μοι τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας συνειπεῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων ἰδιῶται διετέλεσαν ὄντες, ἄλλοι δέ τινες οὐδενὶ πώποτε συγγενόμενοι τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι δεινοὶ γεγόνασιν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμεις καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἁπάντων ἐν τοῖς εὐφυέσιν ἐγγίγνονται καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἐμπειρίας γεγυμ-
15 νασμένοις· ἡ δὲ παίδευσις τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους τεχνικωτέρους καὶ πρὸς τὸ ζητεῖν εὐπορωτέρους ἐποίησεν, οἷς γὰρ νῦν ἐντυγχάνουσι πλανώμενοι, ταῦτ᾽ ἐξ ἑτοιμοτέρου λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐδίδαξεν, τοὺς δὲ καταδεεστέραν τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντας ἀγωνιστὰς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς ἢ λόγων ποιητὰς οὐκ ἂν ἀποτελέσειεν, αὐτοὺς δ᾽ ἂν αὑτῶν προαγάγοι καὶ πρὸς πολλὰ φρονιμωτέρως διακεῖσθαι ποιήσειεν.

16 Βούλομαι δ᾽, ἐπειδή περ εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθον, ἔτι σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν. φημὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἰδεῶν, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς λόγους ἅπαντας καὶ λέγομεν καὶ συντίθεμεν, λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην οὐκ εἶναι τῶν πάνυ χαλεπῶν, ἤν τις αὑτὸν παραδῷ μὴ τοῖς ῥᾳδίως ὑπισχνουμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς εἰδόσι τι περὶ αὐτῶν· τὸ δὲ τούτων ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἃς δεῖ προελέσθαι καὶ μῖξαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τάξαι κατὰ τρόπον, ἔτι δὲ τῶν καιρῶν μὴ διαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι πρεπόντως ὅλον τὸν λόγον καταποικῖλαι καὶ τοῖς
17 ὀνόμασιν εὐρύθμως καὶ μουσικῶς εἰπεῖν, ταῦτα δὲ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρικῆς

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[a] Isocrates himself.

[b] Isocrates insists that the requisites of a good orator are first natural ability, second practical experience, and

all intelligent people will agree with me that while many of those who have pursued philosophy have remained in private life,[a] others, on the other hand, who have never taken lessons from any one of the sophists have become able orators and statesmen. For ability, whether in speech or in any other activity, is found in those who are well endowed by nature and have been schooled by practical experience.[b] Formal training makes such men more skilful and more resourceful in discovering the possibilities of a subject; for it teaches them to take from a readier source the topics which they otherwise hit upon in haphazard fashion. But it cannot fully fashion men who are without natural aptitude into good debaters or writers, although it is capable of leading them on to self-improvement and to a greater degree of intelligence on many subjects.

But I desire, now that I have gone this far, to speak more clearly on these matters. For I hold that to obtain a knowledge of the elements out of which we make and compose all discourses is not so very difficult if anyone entrusts himself, not to those who make rash promises, but to those who have some knowledge of these things. But to choose from these elements those which should be employed for each subject, to join them together, to arrange them properly, and also, not to miss what the occasion demands but appropriately to adorn the whole speech with striking thoughts and to clothe it in flowing and melodious phrase[c]—these things, I hold, require much study and are the task

third formal training. See *Antid.* 186-188 and General Introd. p. xxvii, Vol. I., L.C.L.

[c] Prose should have the same finish and charm as poetry. See General Introd. p. xxiv.

καὶ δοξαστικῆς ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν τὸν μὲν μαθητὴν πρὸς τῷ τὴν φύσιν ἔχειν οἵαν χρὴ τὰ μὲν εἴδη τὰ τῶν λόγων μαθεῖν, περὶ δὲ τὰς χρήσεις αὐτῶν γυμνασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ διδάσκαλον τὰ μὲν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς οἷόντ' εἶναι διελθεῖν ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν διδακτῶν παραλιπεῖν, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν
18 *τοιοῦτον αὑτὸν παράδειγμα παρασχεῖν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐκτυπωθέντας καὶ μιμήσασθαι δυναμένους εὐθὺς ἀνθηρότερον καὶ χαριέστερον τῶν ἄλλων φαίνεσθαι λέγοντας. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἁπάντων συμπεσόντων*
[295] *τελείως ἕξουσιν οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες· καθ' ὃ δ' ἂν ἐλλειφθῇ τι τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀνάγκη ταύτῃ χεῖρον διακεῖσθαι τοὺς πλησιάζοντας.*

19 *Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄρτι τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀναφυόμενοι καὶ νεωστὶ προσπεπτωκότες ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις, εἰ καὶ νῦν πλεονάζουσιν, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ ταύτην κατενεχθήσονται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. λοιποὶ δ' ἡμῖν εἰσιν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν γενόμενοι καὶ τὰς καλουμένας τέχνας γράψαι τολμήσαντες, οὓς οὐκ ἀφετέον ἀνεπιτιμήτους· οἵ τινες ὑπέσχοντο δικάζεσθαι διδάξειν, ἐκλεξάμενοι τὸ δυσχερέστατον τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὃ τῶν φθονούντων ἔργον ἦν λέγειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προεστώτων τῆς τοιαύτης παιδεύσεως,*
20 *καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ πράγματος, καθ' ὅσον ἐστὶ διδακτόν,*

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[a] Unmistakably this phrase is parodied in Plato, *Gorgias* 463 A: *δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, ὦ Γοργία, εἶναί τι ἐπιτήδευμα τεχνικὸν μὲν οὔ, ψυχῆς δὲ στοχαστικῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φύσει δεινῆς προσομιλεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.*

[b] The sophists before mentioned. The teaching of the older sophists is discussed in the *Antidosis*.

[c] Especially the first to write such treatises, Corax and Tisias of Syracuse. *τέχνη*, like *ars* in Latin, was the accepted term for a treatise on rhetoric.

of a vigorous and imaginative mind:[a] for this, the student must not only have the requisite aptitude but he must learn the different kinds of discourse and practise himself in their use; and the teacher, for his part, must so expound the principles of the art with the utmost possible exactness as to leave out nothing that can be taught, and, for the rest, he must in himself set such an example of oratory that the students who have taken form under his instruction and are able to pattern after him will, from the outset, show in their speaking a degree of grace and charm which is not found in others. When all of these requisites are found together, then the devotees of philosophy will achieve complete success; but according as any one of the things which I have mentioned is lacking, to this extent must their disciples of necessity fall below the mark.

Now as for the sophists who have lately sprung up and have very recently embraced these pretensions,[b] even though they flourish at the moment, they will all, I am sure, come round to this position. But there remain to be considered those who lived before our time and did not scruple to write the so-called arts of oratory.[c] These must not be dismissed without rebuke, since they professed to teach how to conduct law-suits, picking out the most discredited of terms,[d] which the enemies, not the champions, of this discipline might have been expected to employ—and that too although this facility, in so far as it can be taught, is of no greater aid to

[d] Again and again Isocrates expresses his repugnance to this kind of oratory, and in general it was in bad odour. The precepts of Corax (Crow), for example, were called "the bad eggs of the bad Corax."

οὐδὲν μᾶλλον πρὸς τοὺς δικανικοὺς λόγους ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὠφελεῖν δυναμένου. τοσούτῳ δὲ χείρους ἐγένοντο τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας καλινδουμένων, ὅσον οὗτοι μὲν τοιαῦτα λογίδια διεξιόντες, οἷς εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐμμείνειεν εὐθὺς ἂν ἐν πᾶσιν εἴη κακοῖς, ὅμως ἀρετὴν ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ σωφροσύνην περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους παρακαλοῦντες, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῶν, πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ πλεονεξίας ὑπέστησαν εἶναι διδάσκαλοι.

21 Καίτοι τοὺς βουλομένους πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ταύτης προσταττομένοις πολὺ ἂν θᾶττον πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν ἢ πρὸς ῥητορείαν ὠφελήσειεν. καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με λέγειν ὡς ἔστι δικαιοσύνη διδακτόν· ὅλως μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἡγοῦμαι τοιαύτην εἶναι τέχνην, ἥτις τοῖς κακῶς πεφυκόσι πρὸς ἀρετὴν σωφροσύνην ἂν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐμποιήσειεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπαρακελεύσασθαί γε καὶ συνασκῆσαι μάλιστ' ἂν οἶμαι τὴν τῶν λόγων τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλειαν.

22 Ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑποσχέσεις διαλύειν, αὐτὸς δὲ μείζω λέγειν τῶν ἐνόντων, ἐξ ὧνπερ αὐτὸς ἐπείσθην οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχειν, ῥᾳδίως οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φανερὸν καταστήσειν.

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[a] The same complaint is made by Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 1. 10.
[b] For the kind of political discourse which Isocrates

forensic than to all other discourse. But they were much worse than those who dabble in disputation; for although the latter expounded such captious theories that were anyone to cleave to them in practice he would at once be in all manner of trouble, they did, at any rate, make professions of virtue and sobriety in their teaching, whereas the former, although exhorting others to study political discourse, neglected all the good things which this study affords, and became nothing more than professors of meddlesomeness and greed.[a]

And yet those who desire to follow the true precepts of this discipline may, if they will, be helped more speedily towards honesty of character[b] than towards facility in oratory. And let no one suppose that I claim that just living can be taught;[c] for, in a word, I hold that there does not exist an art of the kind which can implant sobriety and justice in depraved natures. Nevertheless, I do think that the study of political discourse can help more than any other thing to stimulate and form such qualities of character.

But in order that I may not appear to be breaking down the pretensions of others while myself making greater claims than are within my powers, I believe that the very arguments by which I myself was convinced will make it clear to others also that these things are true.

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extols, and its ethical influence see *Antid.* 275 and General Introd. p. xxiv.

[c] See *Antid.* 274 ff.

IV. ANTIDOSIS

INTRODUCTION

The wealthier citizens of Athens were required by law to bear the expense of public services known as "liturgies."[a] One of these was the "trierarchy"—that of fitting out a ship of war. Anyone allotted to such a duty might challenge another to accept the alternative of either undertaking this burden in his stead or of exchanging property with him. Such a challenge was called an "antidosis." If the challenged party objected, the issue was adjudicated by a court.

It seems clear that Isocrates had undergone such a trial and had been condemned to undertake a trierarchy. The plaintiff had probably prejudiced the case by misrepresenting Isocrates' wealth, his character, and the influence of his teaching. What Isocrates' defence was we do not know, but it seems likely that he did not take the trial very seriously until the unfavourable verdict opened his eyes to the fact that he was generally misunderstood. Then he conceived the idea of dissipating this prejudice against him by publishing in the form of a defence in court "a true image of his thought and of his whole life."

At any rate, in the *Antidosis*—a title which he borrows from the actual suit to which he had just

[a] See § 145 and note.

been subjected—he adopts the fiction of a capital charge brought against him by an informer, named Lysimachus, and of a trial before a court with its accessories.[a] The fictitious charge is, roughly, that he is guilty of corrupting his pupils by teaching them to make the worse reason appear the better and so to win their advantage contrary to justice,[b] which is the stock complaint against the sophists, and the one which was pressed against Socrates. Indeed, it is clear that Isocrates had the latter's trial in mind and that he studiously echoes the defence of Socrates as it is recorded by Plato in the *Apology*.[c]

The defence of Isocrates is, however, more discursive than that of Socrates or, indeed, than any defence appropriate to an actual trial, as he himself points out.[d] It is, on the negative side, a sharp attack upon the Athenian populace for confusing him with the other sophists and for allowing demagogic politicians to use against him the general prejudice which had accumulated against the sophists as a class; and it is, at the same time, a criticism—not too gracious—of the narrowness or the impracticableness of the teaching of his rivals and of their failure to appreciate at its full value the broad and useful culture for which he himself stood. On its positive side, it is a definition and, to a certain extent, an exposition of the culture or "philosophy"[e] which Isocrates professed. In this respect,

[a] See Bonner, "The Legal Setting of Isocrates' *Antidosis*," *Classical Philology* xv. p. 193.

[b] See § 15, § 30, § 56.

[c] See General Introd. p. xvii, Vol. I., L.C.L.

[d] § 10.

[e] See General Introd. p. xxvi.

it should be read in connexion with his earlier discourse, *Against the Sophists*.[a]

It was written, as he tells us,[b] when he was eighty-two years old—354–353 B.C. He apologizes for its lack of vigour, due to his age, but it is, in fact, no less forceful than, for example, his diatribe *Against the Sophists*, published thirty-five years before, though it does not show the same attention to the refinements of style.[c]

[a] See General Introd. pp. xx ff.
[b] § 9.
[c] § 195.

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΤΙΔΟΣΕΩΣ

[310] Εἰ μὲν ὅμοιος ἦν ὁ λόγος ὁ μέλλων ἀναγνωσθήσεσθαι τοῖς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἢ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις γιγνομένοις, οὐδὲν ἂν οἶμαι προδιαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὴν καινότητα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι προειπεῖν τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἃς οὕτως ἀνόμοιον αὐτὸν ὄντα τοῖς ἄλλοις γράφειν προειλόμην· μὴ γὰρ τούτων δηλωθεισῶν πολλοῖς ἂν ἴσως ἄτοπος εἶναι δόξειεν.

2 Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰδὼς ἐνίους τῶν σοφιστῶν βλασφημοῦντας περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς διατριβῆς, καὶ λέγοντας ὡς ἔστι περὶ δικογραφίαν, καὶ παραπλήσιον ποιοῦντας ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις Φειδίαν τὸν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἕδος ἐργασάμενον τολμῴη καλεῖν κοροπλάθον, ἢ Ζεῦξιν καὶ Παρράσιον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν φαίη τέχνην τοῖς τὰ πινάκια γράφουσιν, ὅμως οὐδὲ πώποτε τὴν μικρολογίαν ταύτην

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[a] *Cf. Phil.* 1.

[b] See General Introd. p. xxxi.

[c] Like the *Encomium on Helen*. See General Introd. p. xxxi, and Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*.

[d] The term "sophist" is used loosely throughout the discourse, sometimes as the equivalent of wise man, but more often, as here, of a professional teacher of philosophy and oratory. See General Introd. p. xii, note *a*.

[e] See General Introd. p. xx, and note *c*.

ANTIDOSIS

If the discourse which is now about to be read [a] had been like the speeches which are produced either for the law-courts [b] or for oratorical display,[c] I should not, I suppose, have prefaced it by any explanation. Since, however, it is novel and different in character, it is necessary to begin by setting forth the reasons why I chose to write a discourse so unlike any other; for if I neglected to make this clear, my speech would, no doubt, impress many as curious and strange.

The fact is that, although I have known that some of the sophists [d] traduce my occupation, saying that it has to do with writing speeches for the courts,[e] very much as one might have the effrontery to call Pheidias, who wrought our statue of Athena,[f] a doll-maker, or say that Zeuxis and Parrhasius [g] practised the same art as the sign-painters,[h] nevertheless I have never deigned to defend myself against their

[f] The "gold and ivory" statue of Athena which stood in the Parthenon.

[g] Zeuxis and Parrhasius sojourned in Athens about 400 B.C.

[h] Literally, painters of votive tablets set up in temples as thank-offerings for deliverance from sickness or from dangers on the sea. *Cf.* Tibullus, i. 3. 27-28:

> nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi, nam posse mederi
> picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.

3 ἠμυνάμην αὐτῶν, ἡγούμενος τὰς μὲν ἐκείνων
φλυαρίας οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ πᾶσι
τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι φανερόν, ὅτι προῄρημαι καὶ
λέγειν καὶ γράφειν οὐ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοιούτων
πραγμάτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος ἐπιχειρήσειε,
πλὴν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπλησιακότων ἢ τῶν τούτους
μιμεῖσθαι βουλομένων.

4 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ᾠόμην καὶ διὰ
τὴν προαίρεσιν ταύτην καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀπραγ-
μοσύνην ἐπιεικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἰδιώτας·
ἤδη δ' ὑπογυίου μοι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς οὔσης,
ἀντιδόσεως γενομένης περὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ περὶ
[311] ταύτης ἀγῶνος ἔγνων καὶ τούτων τινὰς οὐχ οὕτω
πρός με διακειμένους ὥσπερ ἤλπιζον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
μὲν πολὺ διεψευσμένους τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων
καὶ ῥέποντας ἐπὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἀνεπιτήδειόν
τι λέγουσι, τοὺς δὲ σαφῶς μὲν εἰδότας περὶ ἃ
τυγχάνω διατρίβων, φθονοῦντας δὲ καὶ ταὐτὸν
πεπονθότας τοῖς σοφισταῖς καὶ χαίροντας ἐπὶ τοῖς
5 ψευδῆ περί μου δόξαν ἔχουσιν. ἐδήλωσαν δ'
οὕτω διακείμενοι· τοῦ γὰρ ἀντιδίκου περὶ μὲν ὧν
ἡ κρίσις ἦν οὐδὲν λέγοντος δίκαιον, διαβάλλοντος
δὲ τὴν τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐμῶν δύναμιν καὶ κατ-
αλαζονευομένου περί τε τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοῦ
πλήθους τῶν μαθητῶν, ἔγνωσαν ἐμὴν εἶναι τὴν
λειτουργίαν.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν δαπάνην οὕτως ἠνέγκαμεν, ὥσπερ
προσήκει τοὺς μήτε λίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐκ-

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[a] The kind of oratory to which Isocrates devoted himself. See General Introd. p. xxiv.

[b] See General Introd. p. xviii.

attempts to belittle me, because I considered that their foolish babble had no influence whatever and that I had, myself, made it manifest to all that I had elected to speak and write, not on petty disputes, but on subjects so important and so elevated [a] that no one would attempt them except those who had studied with me, and their would-be imitators.

Indeed, I had always thought, until well on in years, that, owing to this choice and to my retired life in general,[b] I stood fairly well in the opinion of all the lay public. Then when my career was near its close, having been challenged to an exchange of property on the question of a trierarchy, and subjected to a trial on that issue, I came to realize that even outside of my profession there were those who were not disposed towards me as I had thought; nay, that some had been absolutely misled as to my pursuits and were inclined to listen to my detractors, while others, who were well aware of the nature of my work, were envious, feeling the same towards me as do the sophists, and rejoiced to see people hold false opinions of my character. They betrayed their sentiments at the trial; for, although my opponent made no argument whatever on the merits of the case, and did nothing but decry my "cleverness" of speech [c] and indulge in extravagant nonsense about my wealth and the number of my pupils, they imposed the trierarchy upon me.

Now, I bore that expense in such a manner as is becoming to those who are neither too much upset

[c] It was a favourite device in the Athenian Courts to warn the jury against the adversary as δεινὸς λέγειν. *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 17 B.

ταραττομένους μήτε παντάπασιν ἀσώτως μηδ'
6 ὀλιγώρως πρὸς χρήματα διακειμένους· ᾐσθημένος δ' ὥσπερ εἶπον πλείους ὄντας ὧν ᾠόμην τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς περί μου γιγνώσκοντας, ἐνεθυμούμην πῶς ἂν δηλώσαιμι καὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὃν ἔχω καὶ τὸν βίον ὃν ζῶ καὶ τὴν παιδείαν περὶ ἣν διατρίβω, καὶ μὴ περιίδοιμι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄκριτον ἐμαυτὸν ὄντα, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βλασφημεῖν εἰθισμένοις ὥσπερ νῦν γενόμενον.
7 σκοπούμενος οὖν εὕρισκον οὐδαμῶς ἂν ἄλλως τοῦτο διαπραξόμενος, πλὴν εἰ γραφείη λόγος ὥσπερ εἰκὼν τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένων· διὰ τούτου γὰρ ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ μάλιστα γνωσθήσεσθαι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον μνημεῖόν μου καταλειφθήσεσθαι πολὺ κάλλιον τῶν χαλκῶν ἀναθημάτων.

8 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινεῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιχειροίην, ἑώρων οὔτε περιλαβεῖν ἅπαντα περὶ ὧν διελθεῖν προῃρούμην οἷός τε γενησόμενος, οὔτ' ἐπιχαρίτως οὐδ' ἀνεπιφθόνως εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν δυνησόμενος· εἰ δ' ὑποθείμην ἀγῶνα μὲν καὶ κίνδυνόν τινα περὶ ἐμὲ γιγνόμενον, συκοφάντην δ' ὄντα τὸν γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸν πράγματά μοι παρέχοντα, κἀκεῖνον μὲν ταῖς διαβολαῖς χρώμενον ταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ῥηθείσαις, ἐμαυτὸν δ' ἐν ἀπολογίας σχήματι τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον, οὕτως ἂν ἐκγενέσθαι μοι

[a] *Cf.* Horace, *Odes* iii. 30. 1: monumentum aere perennius. *Cf. Evag.* 73 ff. A bronze statue was erected to Isocrates by his pupil Timotheus. See General Introd, p. xxix.

[b] For the sycophants see *Peace* 128, note.

by such things nor altogether reckless or even careless about money. But when my eyes were opened, as I have said, to the fact that a greater number than I supposed had mistaken ideas about me, I began to ponder how I could show to them and to posterity the truth about my character, my life, and the education to which I am devoted, and not suffer myself to be condemned on these issues without a trial nor to remain, as I had just been, at the mercy of my habitual calumniators. And as I kept thinking upon it, I came ever to the same conclusion, namely, that the only way in which I could accomplish this was to compose a discourse which would be, as it were, a true image of my thought and of my whole life; for I hoped that this would serve both as the best means of making known the truth about me and, at the same time, as a monument, after my death, more noble than statues of bronze.[a]

I saw, however, that if I were to attempt a eulogy of myself, I should not be able to cover all the points which I proposed to discuss, nor should I succeed in treating them without arousing the displeasure or even the envy of my hearers. But it occurred to me that if I were to adopt the fiction of a trial and of a suit brought against me—if I were to suppose that a sycophant[b] had brought an indictment and was threatening me with trouble[c] and that he was using the calumnies which had been urged against me in the suit about the exchange of property, while I, for my part, cast my speech in the form of a defence in court—in this way it would

[c] "To make trouble"—πράγματα παρέχειν—was the common phrase for the persecution of the sycophants. *Cf.* 15.

[312] μάλιστα διαλεχθῆναι περὶ ἁπάντων ὧν τυγχάνω
βουλόμενος.

9 Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἔγραφον τὸν λόγον τοῦτον,
οὐκ ἀκμάζων, ἀλλ' ἔτη γεγονὼς δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα.
διόπερ χρὴ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἢν μαλακώτερος
ὢν φαίνηται τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον ἐκδεδομένων.
καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιος ἦν οὐδ' ἁπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν
10 ἔχων πραγματείαν. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν γεγραμμένων
ἔνια μὲν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πρέποντα ῥηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ
πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας οὐχ ἁρμόττοντα,
περὶ δὲ φιλοσοφίας πεπαρρησιασμένα καὶ δε-
δηλωκότα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς· ἔστι δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦ-
τον ὃ τῶν νεωτέρων τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ
τὴν παιδείαν ὁρμῶσιν ἀκούσασιν ἂν συνενέγκοι,
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάλαι γεγραμμένων ἐγ-
καταμεμιγμένα τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ'
ἀκαίρως, ἀλλὰ προσηκόντως τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις.

11 Τοσοῦτον οὖν μῆκος λόγου συνιδεῖν, καὶ τοσαύτας
ἰδέας καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων ἀφεστώσας συν-
αρμόσαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας
οἰκειῶσαι ταῖς προειρημέναις, καὶ πάσας ποιῆσαι
σφίσιν αὐταῖς ὁμολογουμένας, οὐ πάνυ μικρὸν ἦν
ἔργον. ὅμως δ' οὐκ ἀπέστην, καίπερ τηλικοῦτος
ὤν, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀπετέλεσα, μετὰ πολλῆς μὲν ἀλη-
θείας εἰρημένον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοιοῦτον οἷος ἂν εἶναι
12 δόξῃ τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς διεξιόντας
αὐτὸν πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ὄντος μικτοῦ τοῦ λόγου καὶ
πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς ὑποθέσεις ταύτας γεγραμμένου
ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ἔπειτα προσέχειν τὸν

[a] For this apology *cf. Phil.* 149 ; *Panath.* 4 ; *Epist.* vi. 6.

be possible to discuss to the best advantage all the points which I wanted to make.

With these thoughts in mind I set myself to write this discourse—I who am no longer in the prime of youth but in my eighty-second year. Wherefore, you may well forgive me if my speech appears to be less vigorous [a] than those which I have published in the past. For, I assure you, it has not been an easy nor a simple task, but one of great difficulty; for while some things in my discourse are appropriate to be spoken in a court-room, others are out of place amid such controversies, being frank discussions about philosophy and expositions of its power. There is in it, also, matter which it would be well for young men to hear before they set out to gain knowledge and an education; and there is much, besides, of what I have written in the past, inserted in the present discussion, not without reason nor without fitness, but with due appropriateness to the subject in hand.

Now to view as a whole so great an extent of subject matter, to harmonize and bring together so many diverse varieties of discourse, to connect smoothly what follows with what goes before, and to make all parts consonant one with another, was by no means an easy undertaking. Yet I did not desist, in spite of my age, until I had accomplished it, such as it is. It is, at any rate, written with devotion to the truth; its other qualities I leave to the judgement of my hearers. But I urge all who intend to acquaint themselves with my speech, first, to make allowance, as they listen to it, for the fact that it is a mixed discourse, composed with an eye to all these subjects; next, to fix their attention

νοῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς λέγεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἢ τοῖς
ἤδη προειρημένοις, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μὴ ζητεῖν
εὐθὺς ἐπελθόντας ὅλον αὐτὸν διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦ-
τον μέρος ὅσον μὴ λυπήσει τοὺς παρόντας. ἐὰν
γὰρ ἐμμείνητε τούτοις, μᾶλλον δυνήσεσθε κατιδεῖν
εἴ τι τυγχάνομεν λέγοντες ἄξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν.
13 Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προειπεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν·
ἤδη δ' ἀναγιγνώσκετε τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὴν προσ-
ποιουμένην μὲν περὶ κρίσεως γεγράφθαι, βουλο-
μένην δὲ περὶ ἐμοῦ δηλῶσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας εἰδέναι ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ
[313] φθονοῦντας ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ταύτης
λυπεῖσθαι· μείζω γὰρ δίκην οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην
λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν.
14 Πάντων ἡγοῦμαι πονηροτάτους εἶναι καὶ μεγί-
στης ζημίας ἀξίους, οἵτινες οἷς αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν
ὄντες ἔνοχοι, ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλων τολμῶσι κατηγορεῖν·
ὅπερ Λυσίμαχος πεποίηκεν. οὗτος γὰρ αὐτὸς
συγγεγραμμένα λέγων περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν συγγραμ-
μάτων πλείω πεποίηται λόγον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἁπάντων, ὅμοιον ἐργαζόμενος ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις
ἱεροσυλίας ἕτερον διώκων αὐτὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐν
15 τοῖν χεροῖν ἔχων φανείη. πρὸ πολλοῦ δ' ἂν
ἐποιησάμην οὕτως αὐτὸν νομίζειν εἶναί με δεινόν,
ὥσπερ ἐν ὑμῖν εἴρηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτέ μοι πράγ-
ματα ποιεῖν ἐπεχείρησε. νῦν δὲ λέγει μὲν ὡς ἐγὼ
τοὺς ἥττους λόγους κρείττους δύναμαι ποιεῖν,
τοσοῦτον δέ μου καταπεφρόνηκεν, ὥστε αὐτὸς

[a] *Cf. Panath.* Isocrates, though writing for a reading public, habitually uses the language of a discourse to be delivered. See General Introd. p. xxx.

[b] The stock charge against rhetoric and oratory from

even more on what is about to be said than on what has been said before; and, lastly, not to seek to run through the whole of it at the first sitting, but only so much of it as will not fatigue the audience.[a] For if you comply with this advice, you will be better able to determine whether I speak in a manner worthy of my reputation.

These, then, are the things which it was necessary for me to say by way of introduction. I beg you now to listen to my defence, which purports to have been written for a trial, but whose real purpose is to show the truth about myself, to make those who are ignorant about me know the sort of man I am and those who are afflicted with envy suffer a still more painful attack of this malady; for a greater revenge upon them than this I could not hope to obtain.

I consider that in all the world there are none so depraved and so deserving of the severest punishment as those who have the audacity to charge others with the offences of which they themselves are guilty. And this is the very thing that Lysimachus has done. For this informer, himself delivering a composed speech, has said more in complaint of my compositions than upon all other points; it is as if one were to charge another with breaking into a temple, while showing in his own hands plunder stolen from the gods. I would give much if he really thought that I am as "clever" as he has made me out to be to you, for then he would never have tried to trouble me. But now, although he alleges that I am able to make the weaker cause appear the stronger,[b] he has, in fact, so low an opinion of

Corax and Tisias down. *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 19 B; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 874 ff.

ψευδόμενος ἐμοῦ τἀληθῆ λέγοντος ἐλπίζει ῥᾳδίως
16 ἐπικρατήσειν. οὕτω δέ μοι δυσκόλως ἅπαντα
συμβέβηκεν, ὥσθ᾿ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τοῖς λόγοις διαλύονται τὰς διαβολάς, ἐμοῦ δὲ Λυσίμαχος αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους μάλιστα διαβέβληκεν, ἵν᾿ ἢν μὲν ἱκανῶς δόξω λέγειν, ἔνοχος ὢν φανῶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτου περὶ τῆς δεινότητος τῆς ἐμῆς προειρημένοις, ἢν δ᾿ ἐνδεέστερον τύχω διαλεχθεὶς ὧν οὗτος ὑμᾶς προσδοκᾶν πεποίηκε, τὰς πράξεις ἡγῆσθέ μου χείρους εἶναι.

17 Δέομαι οὖν ὑμῶν μήτε πιστεύειν πω μήτ᾿ ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις, πρὶν ἂν διὰ τέλους ἀκούσητε καὶ τὰ παρ᾿ ἡμῶν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει δίδοσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀπολογίαν, εἴπερ οἷόντ᾿ ἦν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ διώκοντος λόγων ἐψηφίσθαι τὰ δίκαια. νῦν δ᾿ εἰ μὲν εὖ τυγχάνει κατηγορηκὼς ἢ κακῶς, οὐδεὶς ἂν τῶν παρόντων ἀγνοήσειεν· εἰ δ᾿ ἀληθέσι κέχρηται τοῖς λόγοις, οὐκέτι τοῦτο τοῖς κρίνουσι γνῶναι ῥᾴδιον ἐξ ὧν ὁ πρότερος εἴρηκεν, ἀλλ᾿ ἀγαπητὸν ἦν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν λόγων ἐκλαβεῖν δυνηθῶσι τὸ δίκαιον.

18 Οὐ θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν πλείω χρόνον διατριβόντων ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐξαπατώντων κατηγορίαις ἢ ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀπολογίαις, οὐδὲ τῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἔστι μέγιστον κακὸν διαβολή· τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο
[314] ταύτης κακουργότερον, ἣ ποιεῖ τοὺς μὲν ψευδομένους εὐδοκιμεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας δοκεῖν ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δικάζοντας ἐπιορκεῖν, ὅλως δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀλήθειαν ἀφανίζει, ψευδῆ δὲ

my powers that he is confident that he with his lies will win against me and the truth. And so maliciously has everything conspired against me, that while others may depend on their power of speech to make an end of calumnies, it is, in my case, just this power of speech which Lysimachus has most calumniated, in order that if I shall appear to speak well, I may show that I am subject to the charges which he has made about my cleverness; while if it turns out that I speak less ably than he has led you to expect, you may think that mine is the weaker cause.

I beg you, then, neither to credit nor to discredit what has been said to you until you have heard to the end what I also have to say, bearing it in mind that there would have been no need of granting to the accused the right of making a defence, had it been possible to reach a just verdict from the arguments of the accuser. At this stage of the case no one here present is in any doubt whether the accuser has spoken well or badly, but it is not yet easy for the jury to decide from what the first speaker has said whether he has based his arguments on the truth; nay, they will be fortunate if they are able to draw a just conclusion from the arguments of both sides.

I do not wonder that men spend more time in denouncing those who attempt to deceive the jury than upon their own defence, nor that they complain that calumny is our greatest bane. What, indeed, could work greater mischief? It causes liars to be looked on with respect, innocent men to be regarded as criminals, and judges to violate their oaths; in a word, it smothers truth, and pouring false ideas

δόξαν παραστήσασα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὃν ἂν τύχῃ
19 τῶν πολιτῶν ἀδίκως ἀπόλλυσιν; ἃ φυλακτέον ἐστίν, ὅπως μηδὲν ὑμῖν συμβήσεται τοιοῦτον, μηδ' ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν ἐπιτιμήσαιτε τούτοις αὐτοὶ φανήσεσθε περιπίπτοντες. οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῇ πόλει πολλάκις οὕτως ἤδη μετεμέλησε τῶν κρίσεων τῶν μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ μὴ μετ' ἐλέγχου γενομένων, ὥστ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον διαλιποῦσα παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐξαπατησάντων δίκην λαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησε, τοὺς δὲ διαβληθέντας ἡδέως ἂν εἶδεν ἄμεινον ἢ πρότερον πράττοντας.

20 Ὧν χρὴ μεμνημένους μὴ προπετῶς πιστεύειν τοῖς τῶν κατηγόρων λόγοις, μηδὲ μετὰ θορύβου καὶ χαλεπότητος ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν ἀπολογουμένων. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων ἐλεημονεστάτους ὁμολογεῖσθαι καὶ πραοτάτους ἁπάντων εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς ἐνθάδε γιγνομένοις τἀναντία τῇ δόξῃ ταύτῃ
21 φαίνεσθαι πράττοντας· καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις μὲν ἐπειδὰν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου δικάζωσι, μέρος τι τῶν ψήφων ὑποβάλλεσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσι, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ἴσων τυγχάνειν τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας τοῖς συκοφαντοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὀμνύναι μὲν

[a] The outstanding instance is the decree passed by the General Assembly, condemning to death without due process of law, the Athenian generals who were in command at the battle of Arginusae. After the execution of the sentence, the people repented of their haste and called to account the leading instigators of this irregular procedure. See Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 35; Plato, *Apology* 32; Grote, *History* vol. vii. pp. 446-447.

[b] Athenian juries not infrequently made noisy demonstrations of their prejudices. See Plato, *Apology* 30 c; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 624.

into our ears, it leaves no man among our citizens secure from an unjust death. You must be on your guard against this and take care that nothing of the sort happens in this case and that you are not yourselves seen to fall into the very faults which you find reprehensible in others. I think you know well enough that time and again in the past Athens has so deeply repented[a] the judgements which have been pronounced in passion and without proof that not long after the events she has become eager to punish her deceivers, and would gladly have seen the victims of calumny in happier circumstances than before.

You should remember this and not trust too hastily the assertions of the accuser nor hear the defendant in uproar and anger.[b] Ours is a shameful state of inconsistency; for while it is acknowledged that in our life in general we are the most merciful[c] and gentle of all the Hellenes, yet in the conduct of our trials here we manifestly give the lie to this reputation. In other states, when they try a man for his life, they cast a portion of the votes for the defendant,[d] but with us the accused has not even an equal chance with the sycophants;[e] nay, while

[c] The Athenians appear to have worshipped Ἔλεος, Goddess of Pity. See Schol. to Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 261.

[d] The reference seems to be to some custom somewhere by which in capital cases a number of the votes of the jury were at the outset of the trial given by grace to the defendant. No such custom is, so far as I know, mentioned anywhere else.

[e] Isocrates, like Socrates (Plato, *Apology* 37 A-B), complains that defendants on a capital charge in other states were given a better chance.

καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἦ μὴν ὁμοίως ἀκροά-
σεσθαι τῶν κατηγορούντων καὶ τῶν ἀπολογου-
22 μένων, τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ ποιεῖν, ὥστε τῶν
μὲν αἰτιωμένων ὅ τι ἂν λέγωσιν ἀποδέχεσθαι,
τῶν δὲ τούτους ἐξελέγχειν πειρωμένων ἐνίοτε
μηδὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούοντας ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν
μὲν ἀοικήτους εἶναι ταύτας τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς
ἄκριτοί τινες ἀπόλλυνται τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀγνοεῖν δ'
ὅτι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν οἱ μὴ κοινὴν τὴν εὔνοιαν τοῖς
23 ἀγωνιζομένοις παρέχοντες. ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινό-
τατον, ὅταν τις αὐτὸς μὲν κινδυνεύων κατηγορῇ
τῶν διαβαλλόντων, ἑτέρῳ δὲ δικάζων μὴ τὴν
αὐτὴν ἔχῃ γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς
νοῦν ἔχοντας τοιούτους εἶναι κριτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις,
οἵων περ ἂν αὐτοὶ τυγχάνειν ἀξιώσαιεν, λογιζο-
[315] μένους ὅτι διὰ τοὺς συκοφαντεῖν τολμῶντας
ἄδηλον ὅστις εἰς κίνδυνον καταστὰς ἀναγκασθή-
σεται λέγειν ἅπερ ἐγὼ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας
περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον διοίσειν.
24 Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ γε κοσμίως ζῆν ἄξιον πιστεύειν
ὡς ἀδεῶς ἐξέσται τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν· οἱ γὰρ προ-
ῃρημένοι τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἀμελεῖν τοῖς δ' ἀλλοτρίοις
ἐπιβουλεύειν οὐ τῶν μὲν σωφρόνως πολιτευομένων
ἀπέχονται, τοὺς δὲ κακόν τι δρῶντας εἰς ὑμᾶς
εἰσάγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιδει-
ξάμενοι τὰς αὑτῶν δυνάμεις παρὰ τῶν φανερῶς
25 ἐξημαρτηκότων πλέον λαμβάνουσιν ἀργύριον. ἅπερ
Λυσίμαχος διανοηθεὶς εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν κίνδυνόν με

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[a] *Cf. Peace* 3; Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 1-2.
[b] Compare the opposite ideal in *Areop.* 24; *Paneg.* 76; *Panath.* 145 ff.

we take our solemn oath at the beginning of each year that we will hear impartially both accusers and accused, we depart so far from this in practice, that when the accuser makes his charges we give ear to whatever he may say; but when the accused endeavours to refute them, we sometimes do not endure even to hear his voice.[a] Those states in which an occasional citizen is put to death without a trial we condemn as unfit to live in, yet are blind to the fact that we are in the same case when we do not hear with equal good will both sides of the contest. But what is most absurd of all is the fact that when one of us is on trial, he denounces the calumniators, but when he sits in judgement upon another, he is no longer of the same mind regarding them. Yet, surely, intelligent men ought to be such when they are judges of others, as they would expect others to be to them in like case, bearing in mind the fact that because of the audacity of the sycophants it is impossible to foresee what man may be placed in peril and be compelled to plead, even as I am now doing, before men who are to decide his fate by their votes.

Indeed no one may rely on the honesty of his life as a guarantee that he will be able to live securely in Athens; for the men who have chosen to neglect what is their own and to plot against what belongs to others do not keep their hands off citizens who live soberly and bring before you only those who do evil; on the contrary, they advertise their powers in their attacks upon men who are entirely innocent, and so get more money from those who are clearly guilty.[b] This is exactly what Lysimachus had in mind when he subjected me to this trial; for he

κατέστησεν, ἡγούμενος τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ παρ' ἑτέρων αὑτῷ χρηματισμὸν ποιήσειν, καὶ προσδοκῶν, ἢν ἐμοῦ περιγένηται τοῖς λόγοις, ὃν φησι διδάσκαλον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνυπόστατον
26 τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν ἅπασιν εἶναι δόξειν. ἐλπίζει δὲ ῥᾳδίως τοῦτο ποιήσειν· ὁρᾷ γὰρ ὑμᾶς μὲν λίαν ταχέως ἀποδεχομένους τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς, ἐμὲ δ' ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν οὐ δυνησόμενον ἀξίως τῆς δόξης ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ
27 διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων. οὕτω γὰρ βεβίωκα τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον, ὥστε μηδένα μοι πώποτε μήτ' ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ μήτ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ μήθ' ὕβριν μήτ' ἀδικίαν ἐγκαλέσαι, μηδ' εἶναι μήτε διαιτητὴν μήτε δικαστὴν ὅστις περὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων φανήσεται κριτὴς γεγενημένος· ἠπιστάμην γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἀδικούμενος δὲ μὴ μετὰ δικαστηρίου ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἐκείνων διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων.
28 ὧν οὐδέν μοι πλέον γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεγκλητεὶ μέχρι ταυτησὶ τῆς ἡλικίας βεβιωκὼς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν καθέστηκα κίνδυνον, εἰς ὅνπερ ἂν εἰ πάντας ἐτύγχανον ἠδικηκώς.

Οὐ μὴν παντάπασιν ἀθυμῶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τιμήματος, ἀλλ' ἐάν περ ἐθελήσητε μετ' εὐνοίας
[316] ἀκροάσασθαι, πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω τοὺς μὲν δι-

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[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 17 D. Isocrates repeatedly echoes the defence of Socrates. See General Introd. p. xvii and Vasold, *Ueber das Verhältniss der isocrateischen Rede* Περὶ ἀντιδόσεως *zu Platon's Apologia Socratis.*

[b] The distinction between ὕβρις (violence) and ἀδικία (injury) is hardly technical. It seems to be between crimes

thought that this suit against me would bring him profit from other sources, and he expected that if he won in the debate with me, whom he calls the teacher of other men, everyone would regard his power as irresistible. He is confident that he will win easily; for he sees that you are over-ready to accept slanders and calumnies, while I, because of my age and my lack of experience in contests of this kind,[a] shall not be able to reply to them in a manner worthy of my reputation; for I have so lived all my life till now that no man either under the oligarchy or under the democracy has ever charged me with any offence, whether of violence or injury,[b] nor will any man be found to have sat either as arbitrator[c] or as judge upon my actions. For I have schooled myself to avoid giving any offence to others, and, when I have been wronged by others, not to seek revenge in court but to adjust the matter in dispute by conferring with their friends. All this has availed me nothing; on the contrary, I who have lived to this advanced age without complaint from anyone could not be in greater jeopardy if I had wronged all the world.

Yet I am not utterly discouraged because I face so great a penalty;[d] no, if you will only hear me with good will, I am very confident that those who

of personal violence, such as assault, and other offences against the law in general.

[c] Certain issues might be kept out of court by being referred to an arbitrator, either agreed upon by the parties concerned or designated by lot from the public arbitrators provided for by law. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* p. 220 ff.

[d] Isocrates seems to pretend throughout that he, like Socrates, is being tried on a capital charge.

εψευσμένους τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πεπεισμένους ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων βλασφημεῖν ταχέως μεταπεισθήσεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοιοῦτον εἶναί με νομίζοντας οἷός περ εἰμί, βεβαιότερον ἔτι ταύτην ἕξειν τὴν διάνοιαν.

29 Ἵνα δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐνοχλῶ πολλὰ πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος λέγων, ἀφέμενος τούτων, περὶ ὧν οἴσετε τὴν ψῆφον, ἤδη πειράσομαι διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς.

Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὴν γραφήν.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

30 Ἐκ μὲν τοίνυν τῆς γραφῆς πειρᾶταί με διαβάλλειν ὁ κατήγορος ὡς διαφθείρω τοὺς νεωτέρους λέγειν διδάσκων καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι πλεονεκτεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων λόγων ποιεῖ με τηλικοῦτον, ὅσος οὐδεὶς πώποτε γέγονεν οὔτε τῶν περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καλινδουμένων οὔτε τῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατριψάντων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἰδιώτας φησί μου γεγενῆσθαι μαθητάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήτορας καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ βασιλέας καὶ τυράννους, καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν παμπληθῆ τὰ μὲν εἰληφέναι
31 τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν λαμβάνειν. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον πεποίηται τὴν κατηγορίαν, ἡγούμενος ἐκ μὲν ὧν καταλαζονεύεται περί μου καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μαθητῶν φθόνον ἅπασι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἐμποιήσειν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια πραγματείας εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ μῖσος ὑμᾶς καταστήσειν· ἅπερ ὅταν πάθωσιν οἱ κρίνοντες, χαλεπώτατοι τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις εἰσίν.

[a] Here, as elsewhere, Isocrates preserves the fiction of a court scene by calling upon the clerk to read the formal charge.

have been misled as to my pursuits and have been won over by my would-be slanderers will promptly change their views, while those who think of me as I really am will be still more confirmed in their opinion.

But in order that I may not overtax your patience by speaking at undue length before coming to the subject, I shall leave off this discussion and attempt forthwith to inform you on the question which you are to vote upon.

(*To the clerk.*) Please read the indictment.[a]

(*The indictment is read.*)

Here in the indictment my accuser endeavours to vilify me, charging that I corrupt young men[b] by teaching them to speak and gain their own advantage in the courts contrary to justice, while in his speech he makes me out to be a man whose equal has never been known either among those who hang about the law-courts or among the devotees of philosophy; for he declares that I have had as my pupils not only private persons but orators, generals, kings, and despots;[c] and that I have received from them and am now receiving enormous sums of money. He has made his accusation in this manner, thinking that his extravagant assertions about me and my wealth and the great number of my pupils would arouse the envy of all his hearers, while my alleged activities in the law-courts would stir up your anger and hate; and when judges are affected by these very passions, they are most severe upon those who are on trial.

[b] An echo of Plato, *Apology* 23 C-D.
[c] See General Introd. p. xxix.

Ὡς οὖν τὰ μὲν μείζω τοῦ προσήκοντος εἴρηκε, τὰ δ' ὅλως ψεύδεται, ῥᾳδίως οἶμαι φανερὸν
32 ποιήσειν. ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἷς πρότερον ἀκηκόατε περί μου τῶν βλασφημεῖν καὶ διαβάλλειν βουλομένων, μὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, μηδὲ πιστεύειν τοῖς μήτε μετ' ἐλέγχου μήτε μετὰ κρίσεως εἰρημένοις, μηδὲ ταῖς δόξαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἀδίκως ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὑμῖν ἐγγεγενημέναις, ἀλλ' ὁποῖός τις ἂν ἐκ τῆς κατηγορίας τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας φαίνωμαι, τοιοῦτον εἶναί με νομίζειν· οὕτω γὰρ γιγνώσκοντες αὐτοί τε δόξετε καλῶς
[317] κρίνειν καὶ νομίμως, ἐγώ τε τεύξομαι πάντων τῶν δικαίων.

33 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς οὔθ' ὑπὸ τῆς δεινότητος τῆς ἐμῆς οὔθ' ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραμμάτων βέβλαπται τῶν πολιτῶν, τὸν ἐνεστῶτα κίνδυνον ἡγοῦμαι μέγιστον εἶναι τεκμήριον. εἰ γάρ τις ἦν ἠδικημένος, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, οὐκ ἂν ἠμέλησε τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἦλθεν ἂν ἤτοι κατηγορήσων ἢ καταμαρτυρήσων. ὅπου γὰρ ὁ μηδ' ἀκηκοὼς μηδὲν πώποτε φλαῦρον εἰς ἀγῶνά με τηλικουτονὶ κατέστησεν, ἦ που σφόδρ' ἂν οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες ἐπειρῶντ' ἂν δίκην παρ' ἐμοῦ
34 λαμβάνειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶν οὔτ' εἰκὸς οὔτε δυνατόν, ἐμὲ μὲν περὶ πολλοὺς ἡμαρτηκέναι, τοὺς δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς δι' ἐμὲ περιπεπτωκότας ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τολμᾶν ἐγκαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ πραοτέρους ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς εἶναι κινδύνοις τῶν μηδὲν

However, in the one charge he has grossly exaggerated the facts and in the other he lies outright, as I think I can easily show. Let me ask you, however, not to pay any attention to what you have heard about me in the past from my would-be slanderers and calumniators, not to credit charges which have been made without proof or trial, and not to be influenced by the suspicions which have been maliciously implanted in you by my enemies, but to judge me to be the kind of man which the accusation and the defence in this trial will show me to be; for if you decide the case on this basis, you will have the credit of judging honourably and in accordance with the law, while I, for my part, shall obtain my complete deserts.

Now, in fact, no citizen has ever been harmed either by my "cleverness" or by my writings, and I think the most convincing proof of this is furnished by this trial; for if any man had been wronged by me, even though he might have held his tongue up till now, he would not have neglected the present opportunity, but would have come forward to denounce me or bear witness against me. For when one who has never in his life heard a single disparaging word from me has put me in so great peril, depend upon it, had any suffered injury at my hands, they would now attempt to have their revenge.[a] For surely it is neither probable nor possible both that I, on the one hand, have wronged many people and that those, on the other hand, who have been visited with misfortune through me are silent and refrain from accusing me; nay, are kinder to me when my life is in peril than those

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 33 D.

ἠδικημένων, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς δηλώσασιν ἃ πεπόνθασι
35 τὴν μεγίστην παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν οὐδείς μοι φανήσεται τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐγκαλέσας.

῞Ωστ' εἰ συγχωρήσαιμι τῷ κατηγόρῳ καὶ προσομολογήσαιμι πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι δεινότατος, καὶ συγγραφεὺς τῶν λόγων τῶν λυπούντων ὑμᾶς τοιοῦτος οἷος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος γέγονε, πολὺ ἂν δικαιό-
36 τερον ἐπιεικὴς εἶναι δοκοίην ἢ ζημιωθείην. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ γενέσθαι προέχοντα τῶν ἄλλων ἢ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις εἰκότως ἄν τις τὴν τύχην αἰτιάσαιτο, τοῦ δὲ καλῶς καὶ μετρίως κεχρῆσθαι τῇ φύσει δικαίως ἂν ἅπαντες τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπαινέσειαν.

Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ ταῦτ' ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγειν, οὐδ' οὕτω φανήσομαι περὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς
37 τοιούτους γεγενημένος. γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῶν ἐμῶν, ἐξ ὧνπερ οἷόντ' ἐστὶν εἰδέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ τῶν διαβαλλόντων. οἶμαι γὰρ οὐδένα τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι πάντες ἄνθρωποι περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον εἰώθασι διατρίβειν, ὅθεν ἂν προέλωνται τὸν βίον
38 πορίζεσθαι. τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῶν συμβολαίων τῶν ὑμετέρων ζῶντας καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα πραγματείας ἴδοιτ' ἂν μόνον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις
[318] οἰκοῦντας, ἐμὲ δ' οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ἑώρακεν οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις οὔτε περὶ τὰς ἀνακρίσεις οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὔτε πρὸς τοῖς διαιτηταῖς, ἀλλ'

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[a] See General Introd. p. xx.

[b] The συνέδριον, a board made up of the six junior archons called Thesmothetae, had jurisdiction over a large number of offences against the state.

who have suffered no injury, especially since all they have to do is to testify to the wrongs I have done them in order to obtain the fullest reparation. But neither in the past nor now will anyone be found to have made any such complaint.

If, therefore, I were to agree with my accuser and concede his claim that I am the "cleverest" of men and that I have never had an equal as a writer of the kind of speeches which are offensive to you, it would be much more just to give me credit for being an honest man than to punish me; for when a man has superior talents whether for speech or for action, one cannot fairly charge it to anything but fortune, but when a man makes good and temperate use of the power which nature has given him, as in my own case, all the world ought in justice to commend his character.

However, though I might advance this argument in my behalf, I shall never be found to have had anything to do with speeches for the courts.[a] You can judge this from my habits of life, from which, indeed, you can get at the truth much better than from the lips of my accusers; for no one is, I think, blind to the fact that all people are wont to spend their time in the places where they elect to gain their livelihood. And you will observe that those who live upon your contracts and the litigation connected with them are all but domiciled in the courts of law, while no one has ever seen me either at the council-board,[b] or at the preliminaries,[c] or in the courts,[d] or before the arbitrators[e]; on the

[c] The ἀνάκρισις was any preliminary hearing before an appropriate magistrate.
[d] The regular Heliastic jury-panels. See *Areop.* 54, note.
[e] *Cf.* 27, note.

οὕτως ἀπέχομαι τούτων ἁπάντων ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν πολιτῶν.

39 Ἔπειτ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἂν εὕροιτε παρ' ὑμῖν μόνοις χρηματίζεσθαι δυναμένους, εἰ δ' ἄλλοσέ ποι πλεύσειαν, ἐνδεεῖς ἂν ὄντας τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰς εὐπορίας, περὶ ὧν οὗτος μειζόνως εἴρηκεν, ἔξωθεν ἁπάσας γεγενημένας· ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν πλησιάζοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐν κακοῖς αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἢ τοὺς ἑτέροις πράγματα παρέχειν βουλομένους, ἐμοὶ δὲ τοὺς πλείστην σχολὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγοντας.

40 Ἠκούσατε δὲ καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγοντος ὅτι παρὰ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέως πολλὰς ἔλαβον καὶ μεγάλας δωρεάς. καίτοι τίνι πιστὸν ὑμῶν ἐστιν ὡς Νικοκλῆς ἔδωκέ μοι ταύτας, ἵνα δίκας μανθάνῃ λέγειν, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ὥσπερ δεσπότης ἐδίκαζεν; ὥστ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς οὗτος εἴρηκε, ῥᾴδιον καταμαθεῖν ὅτι πόρρω τῶν πραγματειῶν εἰμι τῶν περὶ τὰ συμ-
41 βόλαια γιγνομένων. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνο πᾶσι φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι παμπληθεῖς εἰσιν οἱ παρασκευάζοντες τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀγωνιζομένοις. τούτων μὲν τοίνυν τοσούτων ὄντων οὐδεὶς πώποτε φανήσεται μαθητῶν ἠξιωμένος, ἐγὼ δὲ πλείους εἰληφώς, ὥς φησιν ὁ κατήγορος, ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβοντες. καίτοι πῶς εἰκὸς τοὺς τοσοῦτον τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀλλήλων ἀφεστῶτας περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἡγεῖσθαι διατρίβειν;

42 Ἔχων δὲ πολλὰς εἰπεῖν διαφορὰς περὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς δίκας, ἐκείνως ὑμᾶς

[a] There is a story that Isocrates charged no fees to Athenian pupils.

contrary, I have kept aloof from all these more than any of my fellow-citizens.

Moreover, you will find that these men are able to carry on a profitable business in Athens alone; if they were to sail to any other place they would starve to death; while my resources, which this fellow has exaggerated, have all come to me from abroad.[a] Then again you will find associated with them either men who are themselves in evil case or who want to ruin others, while in my company are those who of all the Hellenes lead the most untroubled lives.

But you have heard also from my accuser that I have received many great presents from Nicocles, the king of the Salaminians.[b] And yet, can any one of you be persuaded that Nicocles made me these presents in order that he might learn how to plead cases in court—he who dispensed justice, like a master, to others in their disputes? So, from what my accuser has himself said, it is easy for you to conclude that I have nothing to do with litigation. Nay, everyone is aware of this also, that there is a superabundance of men who produce speeches for litigants in the courts. Nevertheless you will not find that any one of them, numerous as they are, has ever been thought worthy to have pupils, while I, as my accuser states, have had more than all the rest together who are occupied with philosophy. Yet how can anyone think that people who are so far apart in their ways of life are engaged in the same occupations?

But although I could point out many contrasts between my own career and that of the pleaders

[b] See Isocrates, Vol. I. p. 39, L.C.L.

ἡγοῦμαι τάχιστ' ἂν ἀφέσθαι τῆς δόξης ταύτης, εἴ
τις ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξειε μὴ τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων
μαθητάς μου γιγνομένους ὧν ὁ κατήγορος εἴρηκε,
μηδὲ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὄντα με δεινὸν τοὺς περὶ
43 τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων. οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ἐξελεγ-
χομένης τῆς αἰτίας ἧς εἶχον πρότερον, ζητεῖν
ἑτέραν μεταλαβεῖν διάνοιαν, καὶ ποθεῖν ἀκοῦσαι
περὶ ποίους ἄλλους λόγους γεγενημένος τηλικαύτην
δόξαν ἔλαβον.

[319] Εἰ μὲν οὖν μοι συνοίσει κατειπόντι τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
οὐκ οἶδα· χαλεπὸν γὰρ στοχάζεσθαι τῆς ὑμετέρας
διανοίας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ παρρησιάσομαί γε πρὸς
44 ὑμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἰσχυνθείην τοὺς πλησιάσαντας,
εἰ πολλάκις εἰρηκὼς ὅτι δεξαίμην ἂν ἅπαντας
εἰδέναι τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τὸν βίον ὃν ζῶ καὶ τοὺς
λόγους οὓς λέγω, νῦν μὴ δηλοίην ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλ'
ἀποκρυπτόμενος φανείην. ὡς οὖν ἀκουσόμενοι τὴν
ἀλήθειαν, οὕτω προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν.

45 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνο δεῖ μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι
τρόποι τῶν λόγων εἰσὶν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τῶν μετὰ
μέτρου ποιημάτων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ γένη τὰ τῶν
ἡμιθέων ἀναζητοῦντες τὸν βίον τὸν αὑτῶν κατέτρι-
ψαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐφιλοσόφησαν, ἕτεροι
δὲ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις συναγαγεῖν
ἐβουλήθησαν, ἄλλοι δέ τινες περὶ τὰς ἐρωτήσεις
καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις γεγόνασιν, οὓς ἀντιλογικοὺς
46 καλοῦσιν. εἴη δ' ἂν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον, εἰ πάσας τις
τὰς ἰδέας τὰς τῶν λόγων ἐξαριθμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειεν·
ἧς δ' οὖν ἐμοὶ προσήκει, ταύτης μνησθεὶς ἐάσω
τὰς ἄλλας.

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[a] Elsewhere called disputation ("eristic"). See General Introd. p. xxi.

in the courts, I believe that the quickest way to disabuse your mind of this confusion would be to show that people do not study under me what my accuser says they do, and that I am not clever at the kind of oratory which has to do with private disputes. For I think, now that the charge under which I formerly laboured has been disproved, you are anxious to change your attitude and want to hear from me what sort of eloquence it is which has occupied me and given me so great a reputation.

Whether, indeed, it is going to profit me to speak the truth, I am not sure; for it is hard to conjecture what is in your thoughts. Yet, for all that, I am going to speak to you absolutely without reserve. For I should blush before my associates, if, after having told them again and again that I should be glad to have everyone of my fellow-citizens know the life I lead and the speeches which I compose, I did not now lay them open before you, but appeared rather to attempt to hide them away. Be assured, therefore, that you shall hear from me the whole truth, and in this spirit give me your attention.

First of all, then, you should know that there are no fewer branches of composition in prose than in verse. For some men have devoted their lives to researches in the genealogies of the demi-gods; others have made studies in the poets; others have elected to compose histories of wars; while still others have occupied themselves with dialogue,[a] and are called dialecticians. It would, however, be no slight task to attempt to enumerate all the forms of prose, and I shall take up only that which is pertinent to me, and ignore the rest.

Εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἳ τῶν μὲν προειρημένων οὐκ
ἀπείρως ἔχουσι, γράφειν δὲ προῄρηνται λόγους οὐ
περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, ἀλλ' Ἑλληνικοὺς καὶ
πολιτικοὺς καὶ πανηγυρικούς, οὓς ἅπαντες ἂν
φήσαιεν ὁμοιοτέρους εἶναι τοῖς μετὰ μουσικῆς καὶ
ῥυθμῶν πεποιημένοις ἢ τοῖς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ λεγο-
47 μένοις. καὶ γὰρ τῇ λέξει ποιητικωτέρᾳ καὶ ποικι-
λωτέρᾳ τὰς πράξεις δηλοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν
ὀγκωδεστέροις καὶ καινοτέροις χρῆσθαι ζητοῦσιν,
ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἰδέαις ἐπιφανεστέραις καὶ
πλείοσιν ὅλον τὸν λόγον διοικοῦσιν.

Ὧν ἅπαντες μὲν ἀκούοντες χαίρουσιν οὐδὲν ἧττον
ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μέτροις πεποιημένων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ
μαθηταὶ γίγνεσθαι βούλονται, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἐν
τούτοις πρωτεύοντας πολὺ σοφωτέρους καὶ βελ-
τίους καὶ μᾶλλον ὠφελεῖν δυναμένους εἶναι τῶν
48 τὰς δίκας εὖ λεγόντων. συνίσασι γὰρ τοῖς μὲν
διὰ πολυπραγμοσύνην ἐμπείροις τῶν ἀγώνων γεγε-
νημένοις, τοὺς δ' ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων
[320] ὧν ἄρτι προεῖπον τὴν δύναμιν εἰληφότας, καὶ τοὺς
μὲν δικανικοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν
μόνην ἀνεκτοὺς ὄντας ἐν ᾗ περ ἂν ἀγωνιζόμενοι
τυγχάνωσι, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ
παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐντίμους ὄντας καὶ δόξης
49 ἐπιεικοῦς τυγχάνοντας· ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μέν, ἢν ὀφθῶσι
δὶς ἢ τρὶς ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων, μισουμένους καὶ
διαβαλλομένους, τοὺς δ' ὅσῳ περ ἂν πλείοσι καὶ
πλεονάκις συγγίγνωνται, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον θαυμαζο-
μένους· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰς δίκας
δεινοὺς πόρρω τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων ὄντας, τοὺς εἰ

[a] See General Introd. p. xxiv.

For there are men who, albeit they are not strangers to the branches which I have mentioned, have chosen rather to write discourses, not for private disputes, but which deal with the world of Hellas, with affairs of state, and are appropriate to be delivered at the Pan-Hellenic assemblies—discourses which, as everyone will agree, are more akin to works composed in rhythm and set to music than to the speeches which are made in court. For they set forth facts in a style more imaginative and more ornate; they employ thoughts which are more lofty and more original, and, besides, they use throughout figures of speech in greater number and of more striking character.[a]

All men take as much pleasure in listening to this kind of prose as in listening to poetry, and many desire to take lessons in it, believing that those who excel in this field are wiser and better and of more use to the world than men who speak well in court. For they know that while the latter owe to a capacity for intrigue their expertness in forensic debate, the former have drawn from their pursuit of wisdom the eloquence which I have described; that while those who are thought to be adept in court procedure are tolerated only for the day when they are engaged in the trial, the devotees of philosophy are honoured and held in high esteem in every society and at all times; that, furthermore, while the former come to be despised and decried as soon as they are seen two or three times in court, the latter are admired more and more as they become better and more widely known; and, finally, that while clever pleaders are sadly unequal to the higher eloquence, the exponents of the latter could, if they so desired,

δ᾿ βουληθεῖεν ταχέως ἂν ἑλεῖν καὶ τούτους δυνη-
50 θέντας. ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι καὶ πολὺ κρείττω νομί-
ζοντες εἶναι τὴν αἵρεσιν, βούλονται μετασχεῖν τῆς
παιδείας ταύτης, ἧς οὐδ᾿ ἂν ἐγὼ φανείην ἀπεληλα-
μένος, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ χαριεστέραν δόξαν εἰληφώς.
Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐμῆς εἴτε βούλεσθε καλεῖν
δυνάμεως εἴτε φιλοσοφίας εἴτε διατριβῆς, ἀκηκόατε
51 πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. βούλομαι δὲ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ
καὶ νόμον θεῖναι χαλεπώτερον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων,
καὶ λόγον εἰπεῖν θρασύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν
ἡλικίαν. ἀξιῶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον, εἰ βλαβεροῖς χρῶμαι
τοῖς λόγοις, μηδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν παρ᾿
ὑμῶν, ἀλλ᾿ εἰ μὴ τοιούτοις οἵοις οὐδεὶς ἄλλος, τὴν
μεγίστην ὑποσχεῖν τιμωρίαν. οὐχ οὕτω δ᾿ ἂν
τολμηρὰν ἐποιησάμην τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ
δείξειν ἤμελλον ὑμῖν καὶ ῥᾳδίαν ποιήσειν τὴν
διάγνωσιν αὐτῶν.

52 Ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως· ἐγὼ καλλίστην ἡγοῦμαι καὶ
δικαιοτάτην εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπολογίαν, ἥτις
εἰδέναι ποιεῖ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὡς δυνατὸν μάλιστα,
περὶ ὧν τὴν ψῆφον οἴσουσι, καὶ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι τῇ
διανοίᾳ μηδ᾿ ἀμφιγνοεῖν τοὺς τἀληθῆ λέγοντας.
53 εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἠγωνιζόμην ὡς περὶ πράξεις τινὰς
ἡμαρτηκώς, οὐκ ἂν οἷός τ᾿ ἦν ἰδεῖν ὑμῖν αὐτὰς
παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ᾿ ἀναγκαίως εἶχεν εἰκάζοντας ὑμᾶς
ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων διαγιγνώσκειν ὅπως ἐτύχετε
περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τοὺς
λόγους ἔχω τὴν αἰτίαν, οἶμαι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἐμ-
54 φανιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. αὐτοὺς γὰρ ὑμῖν δείξω

[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 11, 12.

easily master also the oratory of the courts.[a] Reflecting on these facts, and considering it to be by far the better choice, they elect to have a part in that culture wherein, it would appear, neither have I myself been an alien but have, on the contrary, won a far more gracious reputation.

Now you have heard the whole truth about my power, my philosophy, my profession, or whatever you care to call it.[b] However, I want to set up for myself a more difficult standard than for other people, and to make a proposition which may seem over-rash for my years. For I ask you not only to show me no mercy, if the oratory which I cultivate is harmful, but to inflict on me the extreme penalty if it is not superior to any other.[c] But I should not have made so bold a proposal, if I were not about to show you what my eloquence is and to make it very easy for you to pass judgement upon it.

For it is this way: the best and fairest defence, in my opinion, is that which enables the judges to know the facts, so far as this is possible, in regard to the issues on which they are to vote, and which leaves no room for them to go astray in their judgement or to be in doubt as to which party speaks the truth. If, however, I were being tried for some criminal act, I should not have been able to produce the act itself before your eyes but you would have had to conjecture the facts from what I said and pass judgement as best you might. But since I am charged with offending by my words, I think that I shall be in a better position to make you see the truth; for I shall present in evidence the

[b] The language of this sentence is reminiscent of Plato, *Apology* 20 D, E. [c] *Cf.* the boast in *Paneg.* 14.

τοὺς εἰρημένους ὑπ᾿ ἐμοῦ καὶ γεγραμμένους, ὥστ᾿ οὐ δοξάσαντες ἀλλὰ σαφῶς εἰδότες ὁποῖοί τινές [321] *εἰσι τὴν ψῆφον οἴσετε περὶ αὐτῶν. ἅπαντας μὲν οὖν διὰ τέλους εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην· ὁ γὰρ χρόνος ὁ δεδομένος ἡμῖν ὀλίγος ἐστίν· ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν καρπῶν, ἐξενεγκεῖν ἑκάστου δεῖγμα πειράσομαι. μικρὸν γὰρ μέρος ἀκούσαντες ῥᾳδίως τό τ᾿ ἐμὸν ἦθος γνωριεῖτε καὶ τῶν λόγων τὴν δύναμιν ἁπάντων μαθήσεσθε.*

55 *Δέομαι δὲ τῶν πολλάκις ἀνεγνωκότων τὰ μέλλοντα ῥηθήσεσθαι μὴ ζητεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρ᾿ ἐμοῦ καινοὺς λόγους, μηδ᾿ ὀχληρόν με νομίζειν, ὅτι λέγω τοὺς πάλαι παρ᾿ ὑμῖν διατεθρυλημένους. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενος ἔλεγον αὐτούς, εἰκότως ἂν εἶχον τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην· νῦν δὲ κρινόμενος καὶ κινδυνεύων ἀναγκάζομαι χρῆσθαι τοῦτον* 56 *τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἂν πάντων εἴην καταγελαστότατος, εἰ τοῦ κατηγόρου διαβάλλοντος ὅτι τοιούτους γράφω λόγους οἳ καὶ τὴν πόλιν βλάπτουσι καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους διαφθείρουσι, δι᾿ ἑτέρων ποιοίμην τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἐξὸν αὐτοὺς δείξαντι τούτους ἀπολύσασθαι τὴν διαβολὴν τὴν λεγομένην περὶ ἡμῶν.*

Ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἀξιῶ μοι διὰ ταῦτα συγγνώμην ἔχειν καὶ συναγωνιστὰς γίγνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἤδη περαίνειν ἐπιχειρήσω, μικρὸν ἔτι[1] *προειπών, ἵνα ῥᾷον ἐπακολουθῶσι τοῖς λεγομένοις.*

[1] *μικρὸν ἔτι* Γ: *μικρόν τι* vulg.

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[a] No case could occupy more than one day, and the speakers were limited in time by the clepsydra or water-clock.

actual words which I have spoken and written, so that you will vote upon my discourses, not from conjecture, but with clear knowledge of their nature. I cannot, however, present them all in complete form; for the time which has been allowed me is too short.[a] But just as is done with fruits, I shall try to produce a sample of each kind. For when you have heard a small portion of them you will easily recognize my true character and appreciate the force of all my speeches.

But I beg those of you who have read many times what you are now about to hear, not to expect new discourses from me on the present occasion nor think me burdensome because I repeat what has long been the talk of Athens. For if I were to repeat my orations in order to display my powers,[b] I should reasonably be liable to this complaint; but now that I am on trial and in jeopardy I have no choice but to use my speeches in this fashion. For it would be the height of absurdity if in a case where my accuser denounces me for writing the kind of speeches which both hurt our city and corrupt our youth I used other speeches in my defence, when I can clear my name of the calumnies which are being heaped upon it by producing before you the very discourses of which he complains.

I ask of you, then, for these reasons to bear with me and to lend me your support. But for the benefit of the others on the jury[c] I shall attempt to proceed with my selections, after a further word of explanation to enable them to follow more easily what is said.

[b] That is, in making an epideictic lecture or show speech.
[c] That is, those of the jury who had not "read these discourses many times."

57 Ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος ὁ μέλλων πρῶτος ὑμῖν δει-
χθήσεσθαι κατ' ἐκείνους ἐγράφη τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτε
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἦρχον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἡμεῖς δὲ
ταπεινῶς ἐπράττομεν. ἔστι δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας
παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατείαν,
Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητῶν.
58 τοιαύτην δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ποιησάμενος, ἀποφαίνω
τὴν πόλιν ἁπάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν γεγενημένην. ἀφορισάμενος δὲ τὸν
λόγον τὸν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ
βουλόμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτι σαφέστερον ἀπο-
φαίνειν ὡς ἔστι τῆς πόλεως, ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ἐπι-
χειρῶ διδάσκειν περὶ τούτων, ὡς τῇ πόλει τιμᾶσθαι
προσήκει πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον
κινδύνων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργεσιῶν.
59 Ὤιμην μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς δυνήσεσθαι διελθεῖν περὶ
αὐτῶν· νῦν δέ με τὸ γῆρας ἐμποδίζει καὶ ποιεῖ
[322] προαπαγορεύειν. ἵν' οὖν μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκλυθῶ
πολλῶν ἔτι μοι λεκτέων ὄντων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ
τῆς παραγραφῆς ἀνάγνωθι τὰ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
αὐτοῖς.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΥ

§ 51–§ 99

60 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὡς δικαίως ἂν εἴη
τῆς πόλεως, ῥᾴδιον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καταμαθεῖν.
ἐνθυμήθητε δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, εἰ δοκῶ τοῖς
λόγοις διαφθείρειν τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀλλὰ μὴ προ-
τρέπειν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
κινδύνους, ἢ δικαίως ἂν δοῦναι δίκην ὑπὲρ τῶν
εἰρημένων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν χάριν κομίσασθαι παρ'
61 ὑμῶν τὴν μεγίστην, ὃς οὕτως ἐγκεκωμίακα τὴν
πόλιν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς

The discourse which is to be submitted to you first was written at the time when the Lacedaemonians were the first power in Hellas, while our fortunes were at low ebb. In it I summon the Hellenes to make an expedition against the barbarians, and I dispute the right of the Lacedaemonians to take the lead. Developing this theme, I show that Athens has been author of all the advantages which the Hellenes now enjoy. Then, having concluded the account of these benefactions, and desiring to show more convincingly that leadership in the expedition is the right of Athens, I further try to prove that far greater honour is due to her for the perils she has faced in war than for her other benefactions.

Now I thought that I should be able to go through these passages myself, but I find that my age hampers me and causes me to give out easily. So then, in order that I may not break down utterly while there are still many things which I must say, let the clerk begin at the place marked and read the passage on the hegemony.

[Extract from the *Panegyricus* 51-99.
See Isocrates, Vol. I. pp. 148-181, L.C.L.]

As to the hegemony, then, it is easy enough for you to make up your minds from what has been read to you that it should by right belong to Athens. But, I beg of you, consider well whether I appear to you to corrupt the young by my words, or, on the contrary, to inspire them to a life of valour and of dangers endured for their country; whether I should justly be punished for the words which have been read, or whether, on the contrary, I deserve to have your deepest gratitude for having so glorified Athens and our ancestors and the wars which were

ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις γεγενημένους, ὥστε τούς τε πρότερον γράψαντας περὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην ἅπαντας ἠφανικέναι τοὺς λόγους, αἰσχυνομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτοῖς, τούς τε νῦν δοκοῦντας εἶναι δεινοὺς μὴ τολμᾶν ἔτι λέγειν περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ καταμέμφεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν.

62 Ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, φανήσονταί τινες τῶν εὑρεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἄξιον λόγου
[323] δυναμένων, ἐπιτιμᾶν δὲ καὶ βασκαίνειν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων μεμελετηκότων, οἳ χαριέντως μὲν εἰρῆσθαι ταῦτα φήσουσι (τὸ γὰρ εὖ φθονήσουσιν εἰπεῖν), πολὺ μέντοι χρησιμωτέρους εἶναι τῶν λόγων καὶ κρείττους τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας τοῖς νῦν ἁμαρτανομένοις ἢ τοὺς τὰ πεπραγμένα πρότερον ἐπαινοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ πράττειν συμβουλεύοντας ἢ τοὺς τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἔργων διεξιόντας.

63 Ἵν' οὖν μηδὲ ταῦτ' ἔχωσιν εἰπεῖν, ἀφέμενος τοῦ βοηθεῖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις πειράσομαι μέρος ἑτέρου λόγου τοσοῦτον, ὅσον περ ἄρτι, διελθεῖν ὑμῖν, ἐν ᾧ φανήσομαι περὶ τούτων ἁπάντων πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιημένος. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς πρὸς Χίους καὶ
64 Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους, ἐπιδείξας δ' ὡς συμφέρει τῇ πόλει διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, κατηγορῶ τῆς δυναστείας τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν, ἀποφαίνων αὐτὴν οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαν οὔτε ταῖς πράξεσιν οὔτε τοῖς πάθεσι τῶν μοναρχιῶν· ἀναμιμνήσκω δὲ καὶ τὰ συμβάντα δι' αὐτὴν τῇ πόλει καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι.
65 διαλεχθεὶς δὲ περὶ τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος συμφορὰς ὀδυράμενος, καὶ τῇ πόλει παραινέσας

fought in those days that the orators who had composed discourses on this theme have destroyed them all, being ashamed of their own efforts, while they who to-day are reputed to be clever dare no longer to speak upon this subject, but confess the feebleness of their own powers.

But yet, although these things are true, you will find among those who are unable to create or say anything of value, but are past masters in criticizing and prejudicing the works of others, some who will say that all this is spoken "prettily" (for they will be too grudging to say "well"), but that those discourses are better and more profitable which denounce our present mistakes than those which praise our past deeds, and those which counsel us what we ought to do than those which recount ancient history.

Well, then, in order that I may forestall even this objection, I shall abstain from defending the speech to which you have listened and shall attempt to bring before you a selection of equal length from another oration, in which it will be seen that I have given much attention to all these questions. At the beginning of this oration I speak on the question of making peace with the Chians, the Rhodians, and the Byzantines; and, after I have shown that it is to the advantage of Athens to end the war, I decry our dominion over the Hellenes and our sea-power, showing that it is no whit different, either in its conduct or in its results, from tyranny. I recall also the evils which that power has brought upon Athens, upon the Lacedaemonians, and upon all the others. After having dwelt upon this subject, deplored the misfortunes of Hellas, and urged Athens not to allow

ὡς χρὴ μὴ περιορᾶν αὐτὴν οὕτω πράττουσαν, ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐπί τε τὴν δικαιοσύνην παρακαλῶ καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις ἐπιπλήττω καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων συμβουλεύω.

Λαβὼν οὖν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ὅθεν διαλέγομαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος αὐτοῖς.

66 ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ

§ 25–§ 56, § 132–§ 145

67 Δυοῖν μὲν τοίνυν λόγοιν ἀκηκόατε· βούλομαι δὲ
[324] καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μικρὰ διελθεῖν, ἵν' ὑμῖν ἔτι μᾶλλον
γένηται καταφανὲς ὅτι πάντες οἱ λόγοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν
καὶ δικαιοσύνην συντείνουσιν. ἔστι δ' ὁ μέλλων
δειχθήσεσθαι Νικοκλεῖ τῷ Κυπρίῳ, τῷ κατ'
ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον βασιλεύοντι, συμβουλεύων ὡς
δεῖ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄρχειν· οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ γέγραπται
68 τοῖς ἀνεγνωσμένοις. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον
ὁμολογούμενον ἀεὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ καὶ συγ-
κεκλειμένον ἔχουσιν, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοὐναντίον·
ἀπολύσας γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου καὶ χωρίς, ὥσ-
περ τὰ καλούμενα κεφάλαια, ποιήσας, πειρῶμαι
διὰ βραχέων ἕκαστον ὧν συμβουλεύω φράζειν.
69 τούτου δ' ἕνεκα ταύτην ἐποιησάμην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν,
ἡγούμενος ἐκ τοῦ παραινεῖν τήν τε διάνοιαν τὴν
ἐκείνου μάλιστ' ὠφελήσειν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τὸν
ἐμαυτοῦ τάχιστα δηλώσειν. διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ
ταύτην πρόφασιν καὶ νῦν αὐτὸν ὑμῖν δεῖξαι προ-
ειλόμην, οὐχ ὡς ἄριστα τῶν λοιπῶν γεγραμμένον,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ τούτου μάλιστα φανερὸς γενησόμενος,
ὃν τρόπον εἴθισμαι καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ τοῖς

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[a] See Vol. I. p. 3, note *a*.

herself to remain in her present state, finally I summon her to a career of justice, I condemn the mistakes she is now making, and I counsel her as to her future policy.

(*To the clerk.*) Now begin at the point where I start to discuss these matters and read this selection also to the jury.

[Extracts from oration *On the Peace* 25-56, 132 to the end. See this Vol. pp. 22-43, 90-97.]

You have heard parts of two discourses ; I want now to run through a few topics from a third, in order that it may become even more evident to you that all my writings tend toward virtue and justice. The one which is about to be produced before you is addressed to Nicocles of Cyprus, who at that time was king, and is made up of advice to him as to how to rule over his people. It is not, however, composed in the same style as the extracts which have been read. For in them each part is always in accord and in logical connexion with that which goes before ; but in this, on the contrary, I detach one part from another, and breaking up the discourse, as it were, into what we call general heads, I strive to express in a few words each bit of counsel which I have to offer.[a] But my reason for writing upon this subject was that I thought my advice would be the best means of aiding his understanding and at the same time the readiest means of publishing my own principles. It was with the same motive that I decided to present this discourse to you on the present occasion, not that it is the best written of my works, but that through it you will best see in what spirit I am wont to deal with princes as well as with

70 δυνάσταις πλησιάζειν· φανήσομαι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν
[325] ἐλευθέρως καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίως διειλεγμένος, καὶ οὐ τὸν ἐκείνου πλοῦτον οὐδὲ τὴν δύναμιν θεραπεύων ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπαμύνων, καὶ παρασκευάζων καθ' ὅσον ἠδυνάμην τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ὡς οἷόντε πραοτάτην. ὅπου δὲ βασιλεῖ διαλεγόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς λόγους ἐποιούμην, ἦπου τοῖς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευομένοις σφόδρ' ἂν παρακελευσαίμην τὸ πλῆθος θεραπεύειν.

71 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ προοιμίῳ καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις λεγομένοις ἐπιτιμῶ ταῖς μοναρχίαις, ὅτι δέον αὐτοὺς τὴν φρόνησιν ἀσκεῖν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ χεῖρον παιδεύονται τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. διαλεχθεὶς δὲ περὶ τούτων, παραινῶ τῷ Νικοκλεῖ μὴ ῥᾳθυμεῖν μηδ', ὥς περ ἱερωσύνην εἰληφότα τὴν βασιλείαν, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀμελή-
72 σαντα προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπιχειρῶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πείθειν αὐτόν, ὡς χρὴ δεινὸν νομίζειν, ὅταν ὁρᾷ τοὺς μὲν χείρους τῶν βελτιόνων ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνοητοτέρους τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις προστάττοντας, λέγων ὡς ὅσῳ περ ἂν ἐρρωμενέστερον τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἄνοιαν ἀτιμάσῃ, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ἀσκήσει.

Ποιησάμενος οὖν ἀρχὴν ἣν ἐγὼ τελευτήν, ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος αὐτοῖς.

73 ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΑ

§ 14–§ 39

74 Τῶν μὲν τοίνυν λόγων ἅλις ἡμῖν ἔστω τῶν ἀναγιγνωσκομένων καὶ τηλικοῦτο μῆκος ἐχόντων·

[a] The earliest known MSS. omit the rest of the *Antidosis* up to the peroration, 310 ff., and so did the earlier editions.

private men; for you will see that I have expressed myself to Nicocles as a free man and an Athenian should, not paying court to his wealth nor to his power, but pleading the cause of his subjects, and striving with all my powers to secure for them the mildest government possible. And since in addressing a king I have spoken for his subjects, surely I would urge upon men who live under a democracy to pay court to the people.

Now in the introduction and in the opening words of that discourse I reproach monarchs because they who more than others ought to cultivate their understanding are less educated than men in private station. After discussing this point, I enjoin upon Nicocles not to be easy-going and not to feel that he had taken up the royal office as one takes up the office of a priest, but to put aside his selfish pleasures and give his mind to his affairs. And I try to persuade him also that it ought to be revolting to his mind to see the base ruling over the good and the foolish giving orders to the wise, saying to him that the more vigorously he condemns folly in other men, the more should he cultivate his own understanding.[a]

(*To the clerk.*) Now then, begin where I have left off and read to the jury the rest of the discourse.

[Extract from discourse *To Nicocles* 14-39. See Isocrates, Vol. I. pp. 48-63, L.C.L.]

Now this is the last selection which I shall have the clerk read to you—and the last of such length

Mustoxydis discovered the complete *Antidosis* in MSS. E and Θ, and published the first modern edition of the entire discourse in 1812. See General Introd. pp. xlviii-xlix.

ἐπεὶ μικροῦ γε μέρους τῶν πάλαι γεγραμμένων οὐκ ἂν ἀποσχοίμην, ἀλλ' εἴποιμ' ἂν εἴ τί μοι δόξειε πρέπον εἶναι τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄτοπος εἴην, εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρωμένους ἐγὼ μόνος ἀπεχοίμην τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον εἰρημένων, ἄλλως τε καὶ νῦν ὅτ' οὐ μόνον μικροῖς μέρεσιν ἀλλ' ὅλοις εἴδεσι προειλόμην χρῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ὅπως ἂν ἡμῖν συμπίπτῃ, ποιήσομεν.

75 Εἶπον δέ που, πρὶν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι τούτους, ὡς ἄξιος εἴην οὐ μόνον, εἰ βλαβεροῖς χρῶμαι τοῖς λόγοις, δοῦναι δίκην ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τοιούτοις οἵοις οὐδεὶς ἄλλος, τῆς μεγίστης τυχεῖν τιμωρίας. εἴ τινες οὖν ὑμῶν ὑπέλαβον τότε λίαν ἀλαζονικὸν εἶναι καὶ μέγα τὸ ῥηθέν, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἔτι τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔχοιεν· οἶμαι γὰρ ἀποδεδωκέναι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τοιούτους εἶναι τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀναγνωσθέντας οἵους περ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεθέμην.
76 βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν διὰ βραχέων ἀπολογήσασθαι περὶ ἑκάστου, καὶ ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἔτι καταφανὲς ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ τότε προεῖπον καὶ νῦν λέγω περὶ αὐτῶν.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ποῖος γένοιτ' ἂν λόγος ὁσιώτερος ἢ δικαιότερος τοῦ τοὺς προγόνους ἐγκωμιάζοντος ἀξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς; ἔπειτα τίς ἂν
77 πολιτικώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον πρέπων τῇ πόλει τοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποφαίνοντος ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἡμετέραν οὖσαν μᾶλλον ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων; ἔτι δὲ τίς ἂν περὶ καλλιόνων καὶ μειζόνων πραγμάτων τοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπί τε τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατείαν

[a] See 51.

which I shall use; since I am not going to refrain from quoting, at any rate briefly, from my earlier writings, but shall use whatever I may think appropriate to the present occasion. For it would be absurd, when I see other men making use of my words, if I alone should refrain from using what I have written in former days, especially now when I have chosen to repeat to you not merely small parts but whole divisions of my speeches. I shall, therefore, act in this matter as occasion may suggest.

I said, I think, before these selections were read, that I asked not only to be adjudged guilty if my discourses are harmful but to be visited with the heaviest of punishments if they are not incomparable.[a] If any of you then felt that my words were boastful and over-confident, they cannot longer justly be of this opinion; for I think that I have made good my promise and that the discourses which have been read to you are such as from the first I maintained that they were. But I want to say just a word in behalf of each of them and so make it still more manifest that what I then said and what I now say about them is true.

First of all, tell me what eloquence could be more righteous or more just than one which praises our ancestors in a manner worthy of their excellence and of their achievements? Again, what could be more patriotic or more serviceable to Athens than one which shows that by virtue both of our other benefactions and of our exploits in war we have greater claims to the hegemony than the Lacedaemonians? And, finally, what discourse could have a nobler or a greater theme than one which summons the Hellenes to make an expedition against

παρακαλοῦντος καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίας συμβουλεύοντος;

78 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ περὶ τούτων τυγχάνω διειλεγμένος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑστέροις περὶ ἐλαττόνων μὲν ἢ τηλικούτων, οὐ μὴν περὶ ἀχρηστοτέρων οὐδ' ἧττον τῇ πόλει συμφερόντων. γνώσεσθε δὲ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, ἢν παραβάλλητε πρὸς ἕτερα τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων καὶ τῶν ὠφελίμων εἶναι δοκούντων.

79 Οἶμαι δὴ πάντας ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι τοὺς νόμους πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους εἶναι τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν τούτων χρῆσις τοῦτ' ὠφελεῖν μόνον πέφυκε, τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια τὰ γιγνόμενα πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις πείθοισθε τοῖς ἐμοῖς, ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα καλῶς ἂν διοικοῖτε καὶ δικαίως καὶ τῇ
80 πόλει συμφερόντως· χρὴ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας περὶ ἀμφότερα μὲν ταῦτα σπουδάζειν, αὐτοῖν δὲ τούτοιν τὸ μεῖζον καὶ τὸ πλέονος ἄξιον προτιμᾶν, ἔπειτα κἀκεῖνο γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι νόμους μὲν θεῖναι μυρίοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱκανοὶ γεγόνασιν, εἰπεῖν δὲ περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν πολλοὶ δυνηθεῖεν.

81 Ὧν ἕνεκα τοὺς ἔργον ποιουμένους τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους εὑρίσκειν τοσούτῳ χρὴ περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι τῶν τοὺς νόμους τιθέντων καὶ γραφόντων, ὅσῳ πέρ εἰσι σπανιώτεροι καὶ χαλεπώτεροι καὶ ψυχῆς φρονιμωτέρας δεόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἄλλως

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[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 39, 40.

the barbarians and counsels them to be of one mind among themselves?

Well, then, in the first speech I have discoursed upon these themes, and in those later quoted upon matters which, though less lofty, are by no means less fruitful or less advantageous to our city. And you will appreciate the power of these discourses if you will read them side by side with others written by orators of recognized ability and service to mankind.

Now everyone would admit, I think, that our laws have been the source of very many and very great benefits to the life of humanity.[a] But our enjoyment of these laws is a boon which, in the very nature of the case, is limited to the affairs of our state and to the engagements which you enter into with each other; whereas, if you would heed my words, you might direct the whole of Hellas with honour and justice and, at the same time, with advantage to Athens. Men of wisdom ought to concern themselves both for the interests of our city and for the interests of Hellas, but should give preference to the broader and worthier cause;[b] and they ought, furthermore, to appreciate the fact that while any number of men both among the Hellenes and among the barbarians have been able to lay down laws, there are not many who can discourse upon questions of public welfare in a spirit worthy both of Athens and of Hellas.

For these reasons, men who make it their duty to invent discourses of that kind should be held in higher esteem than those who propose and write down laws, inasmuch as they are rarer, have the more difficult task, and must have superior qualities

[b] See General Introd. p. xxxii.

82 τε δὴ καὶ νῦν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἤρχετο τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γίγνεσθαι καὶ συνοικίζεσθαι κατὰ πόλεις, εἰκὸς ἦν παραπλησίαν εἶναι τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐνταῦθα προεληλύθαμεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς εἰρημένους καὶ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς κειμένους ἀναριθμήτους εἶναι, καὶ τῶν μὲν νόμων ἐπαινεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους τῶν δὲ λόγων τοὺς καινοτάτους, οὐκέτι τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας
83 ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν τοὺς νόμους τιθέναι προαιρουμένοις προὔργου γέγονε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κειμένων (οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς δεῖ ζητεῖν ἑτέρους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντας πειραθῆναι συναγαγεῖν, ὃ ῥᾳδίως ὅστις ἂν οὖν βουληθεὶς ποιήσειε), τοῖς δὲ περὶ τοὺς λόγους πραγματευομένοις διὰ τὸ προκατειλῆφθαι τὰ πλεῖστα τοὐναντίον συμβέβηκε· λέγοντες μὲν γὰρ ταὐτὰ τοῖς πρότερον εἰρημένοις ἀναισχυντεῖν καὶ ληρεῖν δόξουσι, καινὰ δὲ ζητοῦντες ἐπιπόνως εὑρήσουσι. διόπερ ἔφασκον ἀμφοτέροις μὲν ἐπαινεῖσθαι προσήκειν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς τὸ χαλεπώτερον ἐξεργάζεσθαι δυναμένοις.

84 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην προσποιουμένων προτρέπειν ἡμεῖς ἂν ἀληθέστεροι καὶ χρησιμώτεροι φανεῖμεν ὄντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἀγνοουμένην, ὑπ' αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων ἀντιλεγομένην, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ

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[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 32 ff.

[b] These are the "eristics." See General Introd. pp. xxi, xxv.

of mind. Especially is this true in our day; for, at the time when the human race was beginning to come into existence and to settle together in cities,[a] it was natural that their searching should have been for much the same thing; but to-day, on the other hand, when we have advanced to the point where the discourses which have been spoken and the laws which have been laid down are innumerable, and where we single out the oldest among laws and the newest among discourses for our praise, these tasks no longer call for the same understanding; nay, those who have elected to make laws have had at their service a multitude of laws already made (for they have no need to search for new laws, but only to put forth the effort to collect those which are approved in other states, which anyone who so desires can easily do), while those who occupy themselves with oratory, seeing that most subjects have been seized upon and used by others before them, are in the opposite case; for if they repeat the same things which have been said in the past, they will be regarded as shameless babblers, and if they seek for what is new, they will have great difficulty in finding it. That is why I stated that, while both are entitled to your praise, they are the more entitled to it who are able to execute the harder task.

I maintain also that if you compare me with those who profess[b] to turn men to a life of temperance and justice, you will find that my teaching is more true and more profitable than theirs. For they exhort their followers to a kind of virtue and wisdom which is ignored by the rest of the world and is disputed among themselves; I, to a kind which is recognized

85 τὴν ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογουμένην. κἀκείνοις μὲν
ἀπόχρη τοσοῦτον, ἢν ἐπαγαγέσθαι τινὰς τῇ δόξῃ
τῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων δυνηθῶσιν εἰς τὴν αὑτῶν
ὁμιλίαν, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν οὐδένα πώποτε
φανήσομαι παρακαλέσας ἐπ᾽ ἐμαυτόν, τὴν δὲ
πόλιν ὅλην πειρῶμαι πείθειν τοιούτοις πράγμασιν
ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοί τε εὐδαιμονήσουσι καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπ-
αλλάξουσι.

86 Καί τοι τὸν πάντας τοὺς πολίτας προτρέπειν
προθυμούμενον πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον καὶ δικαιότερον
προστῆναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πῶς εἰκὸς τοῦτον τοὺς
συνόντας διαφθείρειν; τίς δὲ τοιούτους λόγους
εὑρίσκειν δυνάμενος πονηροὺς ἂν καὶ περὶ πονηρῶν
πραγμάτων ζητεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ
87 διαπεπραγμένος ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἅπερ ἐγώ; τούτων
γὰρ γραφέντων καὶ διαδοθέντων καὶ δόξαν ἔσχον
παρὰ πολλοῖς καὶ μαθητὰς πολλοὺς ἔλαβον, ὧν
οὐδεὶς ἂν παρέμεινεν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτον ὄντα με κατ-
έλαβον οἷόν περ προσεδόκησαν· νῦν δὲ τοσούτων
γεγενημένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἔτη τρία τῶν δὲ τέτταρα
συνδιαιτηθέντων, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν φανήσεται τῶν παρ᾽
88 ἐμοὶ μεμψάμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς, ὅτ᾽ ἤδη
μέλλοιεν ἀποπλεῖν ὡς τοὺς γονέας καὶ τοὺς φίλους
τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτως ἠγάπων τὴν διατριβὴν ὥστε
μετὰ πόθου καὶ δακρύων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν.

Καί τοι πότερα χρὴ πιστεύειν ὑμᾶς τοῖς σαφῶς
ἐπισταμένοις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸν τρόπον τὸν
ἐμόν, ἢ τῷ μηδὲν μὲν εἰδότι τῶν ἐμῶν, προῃρημένῳ

by all. They, again, are satisfied if through the prestige of their names they can draw a number of pupils into their society; I, you will find, have never invited any person to follow me, but endeavour to persuade the whole state to pursue a policy from which the Athenians will become prosperous themselves, and at the same time deliver the rest of the Hellenes from their present ills.

And yet, when anyone devotes his life to urging all his fellow-countrymen to be nobler and juster leaders of the Hellenes, how is it conceivable that such a man should corrupt his followers? What man possessed of the power to discover discourses of this character would try to search for those that are pernicious and have to do with pernicious things, especially a man who has reaped from his works the rewards which I have had? For the writing and publication of them has won me distinction in many parts of the world and brought me many disciples, no one of whom would have remained with me had they not found in me the very kind of man they expected to find. In fact, although I have had so many pupils, and they have studied with me in some cases three, and in some cases four years, yet not one of them will be found to have uttered a word of complaint about his sojourn with me; on the contrary, when at the last the time would come for them to sail away to their parents or their friends at home, so happy did they feel in their life with me, that they would always take their leave with regret and tears.

Well, then, whom ought you to believe? Those who know intimately both my words and my character, or a sycophant who knows nothing about me

δὲ συκοφαντεῖν; ὃς εἰς τοσοῦτο πονηρίας καὶ
89 τόλμης ἐλήλυθεν, ὥστε γραψάμενος ὡς λόγους διδάσκω δι' ὧν πλεονεκτήσουσι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἀπόδειξιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν τούτων ἤνεγκε, λέγων δὲ διατετέλεκεν ὡς δεινόν ἐστι διαφθείρεσθαι τοὺς τηλικούτους, ὥσπερ ἀντιλέγοντός τινος περὶ τούτων, ἢ τοῦτο δέον αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν ὃ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μόνον διδάσκειν ὡς
90 ἐγὼ τυγχάνω ταῦτα διαπραττόμενος. καὶ εἰ μέν τις τοῦτον ἀπαγαγὼν ἀνδραποδιστὴν καὶ κλέπτην καὶ λωποδύτην μηδὲν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνοι τούτων εἰργασμένον, διεξίοι δ' ὡς δεινὸν ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῶν κακουργημάτων, ληρεῖν ἂν φαίη καὶ μαίνεσθαι τὸν κατήγορον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιούτοις λόγοις κεχρη-
91 μένος οἴεται λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς. ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτό γε καὶ τοὺς ἀμαθεστάτους γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι δεῖ πιστὰς εἶναι καὶ μέγα δυναμένας τῶν κατηγοριῶν οὐχ αἷς ἔξεστι χρήσασθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν μηδὲν ἠδικηκότων, ἀλλ' ἃς οὐχ οἷόντ' εἰπεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων· ὧν αὐτὸς ὀλιγωρήσας οὐδὲν προσήκοντας τῇ γραφῇ λόγους εἴρηκεν.
92 ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς λόγους δεικνύναι τοὺς ἐμούς, οἷς διαφθείρω τοὺς συνόντας, καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς φράζειν τοὺς χείρους διὰ τὴν συνουσίαν τὴν ἐμὴν γεγενημένους· νῦν δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον πεποίηκε, παραλιπὼν δὲ τὴν δικαιοτάτην τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἐξαπατᾶν ὑμᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν.

at all, but has chosen to make me his victim? Ought you to believe a man who is so unscrupulous and so brazen that, having indicted me for teaching the kind of eloquence which enables people to gain their own advantage contrary to justice, he has not brought before you the slightest evidence of this but has dwelt from the beginning to the end of his speech on the iniquity of corrupting our youth—as if anyone disputed that, or as if it were necessary for him to prove what all men concede, instead of showing simply that I have been guilty of this offence? Why, if anyone were to bring this fellow to trial for kidnapping or stealing or highway robbery, and, instead of proving that he had done any of these things, were to hold forth on the iniquity of each of these crimes, my opponent would reply that his accuser was mad and talked like a fool; yet he has, himself, used just such arguments and thinks that you do not see through him. I, however, believe that even the most simple-minded of people recognize that an accusation, to be convincing and to carry great weight, must not be one which may be employed equally well against the innocent, but one which can be applied only to the guilty. My accuser has made light of this fact, and has made a speech which is in no respect pertinent to the indictment. For he ought both to have produced before you the speeches by which I corrupt my associates and to have named to you the pupils who have been debased by association with me.[a] However, he has done neither of these things, but has rejected the most legitimate form of accusation and attempted to lead you astray. I, on the contrary,

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 33 A, B.

ἐγὼ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐξ ὧν περ προσήκει καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι, ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν.

93 Καὶ τοὺς μὲν λόγους ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῖν, τοὺς δὲ κεχρημένους ἐκ μειρακίων μοι μέχρι γήρως δηλώσω, καὶ μάρτυρας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν παρέξομαι περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐμὴν γεγενημένους.

Ἤρξαντο μὲν οὖν ἐν πρώτοις Εὔνομός μοι καὶ Λυσιθείδης καὶ Κάλλιππος πλησιάζειν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ὀνήτωρ, Ἀντικλῆς, Φιλωνίδης, Φιλό-
94 μηλος, Χαρμαντίδης. τούτους ἅπαντας ἡ πόλις χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις ἐστεφάνωσεν, οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφιεμένους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ὄντας καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνηλωκότας.

Πρὸς οὓς ὅπως βούλεσθε θέτε με διακεῖσθαι·
95 πρὸς γὰρ τὸ παρὸν πανταχῶς ἕξει μοι καλῶς. ἤν τε γὰρ ὑπολάβητε σύμβουλον εἶναί με καὶ διδάσκαλον τούτων, δικαίως ἂν ἔχοιτέ μοι πλείω χάριν ἢ τοῖς δι' ἀρετὴν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτουμένοις· τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος αὑτὸν μόνον παρέσχε καλὸν κἀγαθόν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος
96 ὅσους ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διῆλθον ὑμῖν. εἴ τε τῶν μὲν πεπραγμένων ἐκείνοις μηδὲν συναίτιος ἐγενόμην, ὡς ἑταίροις δὲ καὶ φίλοις αὐτοῖς ἐχρώμην, ἱκανὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν φεύγω τὴν γραφὴν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ

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[a] For the pupils of Isocrates see Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii. pp. 17 ff.

[b] It was common in the fourth century for Athens to recognize public services in this way. *Cf.* the contest between Demosthenes and Aeschines *On the Crown*.

shall base my defence only on grounds which are pertinent and just.

I had my speeches read to you a moment ago; I shall now bring before you the men who have been associated with me from the time of my youth to the days of my old age, and from your own number I shall present men of my own years to bear witness to the truth of what I say.

Among the first to begin studying with me were Eunomus, Lysitheides, and Callippus; and following them were Onetor, Anticles, Philonides, Philomelus, and Charmantides.[a] All these men were crowned by Athens with chaplets of gold,[b] not because they were covetous of other people's possessions, but because they were honourable men and had spent large sums of their private fortunes upon the city.

Suppose whatever you like as to the nature of my relations with them; for the result, at any rate so far as the present issue is concerned, will be altogether to my advantage. For if you suppose that I was their counsellor and teacher, I should deserve from you greater gratitude than those who are maintained in the Prytaneum in recognition of excellence;[c] for each of the latter has furnished to the city his own high qualities alone, whereas I have furnished those of all whom I have just now named to you. But if, on the other hand, you suppose that I, myself, had nothing to do with their achievements, but that I merely enjoyed their society and friendship, I consider that even this view is defence enough against the charges on which

[c] In the Prytaneum were entertained at state expense honoured guests and benefactors of Athens. See Plato, *Apology* 36 D, which has clearly inspired this passage.

ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἀπολογίαν· εἰ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν δι' ἀρετὴν δωρεὰς εἰληφόσιν ἤρεσκον, τῷ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχω γνώμην, πῶς ἂν εἰκότως
97 γνωσθείην τοὺς συνόντας διαφθείρειν; ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἴην δυστυχέστατος, εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἔκ τε τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν συνουσιῶν τῶν μὲν χείρω τῶν δὲ βελτίω δόξαν λαμβανόντων ἐγὼ μόνος μὴ τύχοιμι τῆς δοκιμασίας ταύτης, ἀλλὰ τοιούτοις μὲν ἀνδράσι συμβεβιωκώς, ἀνέγκλητον δ' ἐμαυτὸν μέχρι ταυτησὶ τῆς ἡλικίας παρεσχηκώς, ὅμοιος εἶναι δόξαιμι τοῖς ἔκ τε τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συνουσιῶν διαβεβλημένοις. ἡδέως δ' ἂν εἰδείην τί ποτ' ἂν ἔπαθον, εἴ τίς μοι τοιοῦτος ἦν συγγεγενημένος οἷός πέρ ἐστιν ὁ κατήγορος, ὃς μισῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ μισούμενος εἰς τουτονὶ καθέστηκα τὸν κίνδυνον.

98 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος δικαίως ἄν με βλάψειεν, ὃν ἴσως ἄν τινες τολμήσαιεν εἰπεῖν τῶν παντάπασι πρός με δυσκόλως διακειμένων, ὡς τούτοις μὲν οἷς εἴρηκα τοσοῦτον μόνον ἐχρώμην ὅσον ὀφθῆναι διαλεγόμενος, ἕτεροι δέ τινές μοι πολλοὶ καὶ πολυπράγμονες μαθηταὶ γεγόνασιν, οὓς ἀποκρύπτομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἔχω γὰρ λόγον ὃς ἐξελέγξει καὶ διαλύσει πάσας τὰς τοιάσδε
99 βλασφημίας·[1] ἀξιῶ γάρ, εἰ μέν τινες τῶν ἐμοὶ συγγεγενημένων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασι περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον, ἐκείνους ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὑπὲρ τούτων

[1] ἔχω γὰρ λόγον ὃς ἐξελέγξει καὶ διαλύσει πάσας τὰς τοιάσδε βλασφημίας· ΕΘ: om. Γ.

I am being tried. For if I have had the affection of men who have received rewards in recognition of excellence, but have nothing in common with the sycophant, then how, in all reason, could you judge me to be a corrupter of youth? Verily, I should be the most unfortunate of all men if, when others are esteemed better or worse, as the case may be, from the manner of their lives and from the character of their associates, I alone should be denied this basis of judgement; and if I, who have lived all my life in company with such men, and have kept myself above all criticism up to this point in my career, should be classed with those who from the manner of their lives and the character of their associates have got themselves a bad name. I should like to know what in the world my fate would have been if I had numbered among my associates anyone like my accuser, when, although I hate all his kind and am hated by them, I am yet subjected to this trial.

Nor, I assure you, can my case be justly injured by the argument which certain of those who are entirely hostile to me may, perhaps, dare to put forth, namely, that I have associated with the men I have mentioned merely to the extent of having been seen conversing with them, whereas I have had as my disciples many of another sort, mischievous characters, whom I am trying to conceal from you. For I have ready at hand a reply which will refute and confound all calumnies of that sort. For I ask this of you: If any of those who have been associated with me have turned out to be good men in their relations to the state, to their friends, and to their own households—I ask you to give them the praise and not to be grateful to me on their account; but

χάριν ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ πονηροὶ καὶ τοιοῦτοι τὰς φύσεις οἷοι φαίνειν καὶ γράφεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
100 ἐπιθυμεῖν, παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ δίκην λαμβάνειν. καίτοι τίς ἂν πρόκλησις γένοιτο ταύτης ἀνεπιφθονωτέρα, καὶ δικαιοτέρα τῆς τῶν μὲν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἀμφισβητούσης, εἰ δέ τινες πονηροὶ γεγόνασιν, ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἐθελούσης; καὶ ταῦτ᾽ οὐ λόγος μάτην εἰρημένος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ παραχωρῶ καὶ τῷ κατηγόρῳ καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν ἄλλων, εἴ τις ἔχει τινὰ φράσαι τοιοῦτον, οὐχ ὡς οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν τινών μου καταψευσαμένων, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς εὐθὺς φανερῶν ἐσομένων ὑμῖν καὶ τῆς ζημίας
101 ἐκείνοις ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐμοὶ γενησομένης. περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν φεύγω τὴν γραφὴν καὶ τοῦ μὴ διαφθείρειν τοὺς συνόντας, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἂν σαφέστερον ἐπιδεῖξαι δυνηθείην.

Ἐμνήσθη δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Τιμόθεόν μοι φιλίας γεγενημένης, καὶ διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνθη περὶ ἀνδρὸς τετελευτηκότος καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίου τῇ πόλει βλασφήμους καὶ λίαν ἀσελγεῖς λόγους εἰπών.
102 ἐγὼ δ᾽ ᾤμην μέν, εἰ καὶ φανερῶς ἐξηλεγχόμην ἀδικῶν, διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον φιλίαν σῴζεσθαί μοι προσήκειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λυσίμαχος καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις

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[a] An offer to yield the floor to an opponent followed by a pause, as here, is common in court pleas. *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 34 A.

[b] Timotheus, the son of Conon and the favourite pupil of Isocrates, was first appointed to an important command in 378 B.C. From that time on for twenty-two years he was one of the prominent generals in Athenian campaigns. In 357 he was associated with Iphicrates, Menestheus, and Chares in command of the Athenian navy. For his alleged

if, on the other hand, any of them have turned out to be bad—the kind of men who lay information, hale people into court, and covet the property of others—then to let the penalty be visited on me. What proposition could be less invidious or more fair than one which claims no credit for those who are honourable, but offers to submit to punishment for any who have become depraved? And these are no idle words: on the contrary, if anyone can name anyone of that kind to you, I yield the floor [a] for this purpose to my accuser or to anyone else who may desire it—not that there are not persons who would gladly perjure themselves to my harm, but that they would be shown up to you at once, and the injury would fall upon them, not upon me . . . Well, then, I do not see how I could show more clearly that the charges filed against me are false and that I am not guilty of corrupting my associates.

My accuser has mentioned also the friendship which existed between me and Timotheus,[b] and has attempted to calumniate us both, nor did any sense of shame restrain him from saying slanderous and utterly infamous things about a man who is dead, to whom Athens is indebted for many services. But I, for my part, should have thought that even if I were proved guilty beyond a doubt, yet because of my friendship with him I should be entitled to go free. But since Lysimachus is attempting to hurt me by

misconduct in this command he was tried in Athens (356 B.C. according to Diodorus) and condemned to pay an enormous fine of 100 talents. See § 129 and note. Unable to pay this, he withdrew to Chalcis in Euboea, where he died shortly after. See Grote, *History*, vol. xi. pp. 27 ff. The eulogy of Timotheus here is a characteristic "digression." See General Introd. p. xvi.

ἐπιχειρεῖ με βλάπτειν ἐξ ὧν δικαίως ἂν ὠφελοίμην, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν.

Διὰ τοῦτο δ' οὐχ ἅμα περὶ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐποιησάμην τὴν μνείαν, ὅτι πολὺ τὰ
103 πράγματα διέφερεν αὐτῶν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων οὐδὲν φλαῦρον εἰπεῖν ὁ κατήγορος ἐτόλμησε, περὶ δὲ τὴν Τιμοθέου κατηγορίαν μᾶλλον ἐσπούδασεν ἢ περὶ ὧν ἀπήνεγκε τὴν γραφήν· ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγων ἐπεστάτησαν, τῶν δ' ἑκάστῳ προσταχθέντων οὕτως ἐπεμελήθησαν ὥστε τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεχθείσης, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων καὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατέστη κύριος. ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἥρμοσεν ἅμα περὶ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρήσασθαι τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως εἶχεν οὕτω διελέσθαι καὶ διατάξασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

104 Χρὴ δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου λόγον οὐκ ἀλλότριον εἶναι νομίζειν τοῖς ἐνεστῶσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' ἐμὲ λέγειν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις ὑπὲρ ὧν ἕκαστος ἔπραξε προσήκει διαλεχθεῖσι καταβαίνειν ἢ δοκεῖν περιεργάζεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ὑπολαμβανομένοις συμβούλοις εἶναι καὶ διδασκάλοις ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ τῶν συγγεγενημένων ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἄλλως τ' ἢν καὶ τύχῃ τις διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην κρινόμενος· ὅ περ ἐμοὶ συμβέβηκεν.

105 Ἑτέρῳ μὲν οὖν ἀπέχρησεν ἂν τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι μετέχειν εἴ τι Τιμόθεος πράττων

the very means which ought to help my case, I am compelled to go into this question.

I must explain that I did not mention Timotheus when I named my other associates because he was in very different case from them. For, in the first place, my accuser has not dared to say anything derogatory of my other friends, while he has laid greater stress upon his arraignment of Timotheus than upon the charges which he has preferred in his indictment. In the next place, my other friends were entrusted with only a few commissions, although in every case they discharged the duties assigned to them in such a manner that they won the honour which I mentioned a moment ago,[a] while Timotheus had the responsibility of many affairs of great importance and over a long period of time. It would not, therefore, have been fitting to discuss him and the others in one group, but it was necessary to separate and segregate them as I have done.

You must not think, however, that what I say in behalf of Timotheus is irrelevant to the present case, nor that I am straying beyond the limits of the indictment; for while it is proper for the layman to say what he has to say in defence of his own actions and then take his seat or else to be thought to overdo his case, yet when anyone occupies a position in the eyes of the public as a counsellor and teacher, he must then justify his followers as well as himself, especially if he is being tried on this charge—which is exactly the position in which I have been placed.

Now any other man might be satisfied to say that it is not fair that he should share the blame for any mistakes which Timotheus may have made, on the

[a] See 94.

μὴ κατώρθωσεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν δωρεῶν οὐδὲ τῶν τιμῶν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ μετέδωκε τῶν ἐκείνῳ ψηφισθεισῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐπαινέσαι τῶν ῥητόρων οὐδεὶς ἠξίωσεν ὡς σύμβουλον γεγενημένον· εἶναι δὲ δίκαιον ἢ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινωνεῖν ἢ μηδὲ τῶν
106 ἀτυχιῶν ἀπολαύειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν αἰσχυνθείην ἂν εἰπεῖν, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ποιοῦμαι πρόκλησιν ἥν περ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἀξιῶ γάρ, εἰ μὲν κακὸς ἀνὴρ γέγονε Τιμόθεος καὶ πολλὰ περὶ ὑμᾶς ἐξήμαρτε, μετέχειν καὶ δίκην διδόναι καὶ πάσχειν ὅμοια τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν· ἢν δ᾽ ἐπιδειχθῇ καὶ πολίτης ὢν ἀγαθὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς τοιοῦτος οἷος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καὶ χάριν ἔχειν αὐτῷ, περὶ δὲ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων, ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι δοκῇ, τοῦτο γιγνώσκειν.

107 Ἀθροώτατον μὲν οὖν τοῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν ἔχω περὶ Τιμοθέου καὶ μάλιστα καθ᾽ ἁπάντων, ὅτι τοσαύτας ᾕρηκε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ὅσας οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, οὔτε τῶν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως οὔτε τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τούτων ἐνίας, ὧν ληφθεισῶν ἅπας ὁ τόπος ὁ περιέχων οἰκεῖος ἠναγκάσθη τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι·
108 τηλικαύτην ἑκάστη δύναμιν εἶχε. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε Κόρκυραν μὲν ἐν ἐπικαιροτάτῳ καὶ κάλλιστα κειμένην τῶν περὶ Πελοπόννησον, Σάμον δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, Σηστὸν δὲ καὶ Κριθώτην τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησ-

ground that he was given no share in the rewards or the honours which were voted to Timotheus, nor was he even thought worthy by any orator of being commended as an adviser of the latter, and that it is only fair that one should either share the good fortunes of another, or have no part in his misfortunes. I, however, should be ashamed to make this plea, and I make you the same proposition regarding Timotheus as I made regarding my other associates. For I ask that if it turns out that Timotheus was a bad man and committed many wrongs against you—I ask to be allowed to share the blame, to pay the penalty, and to suffer whatever is meted out to the guilty ; but if, on the other hand, it is shown that he was both a good citizen and a greater general than any other within our knowledge, then I hold that you should praise him and be grateful to him, while as to this indictment against me, you should pass whatever judgement you may deem fair in the light of what I, myself, have done.

The facts, then, about Timotheus I can put most concisely and in the most comprehensive terms by saying that he has taken more cities by storm than any other man has ever done, and I include all generals who have led armies into the field whether from Athens or from the rest of Hellas. And among these cities were some whose capture compelled all the surrounding territory to make terms with Athens ; so great was their importance in each case. For who does not know that Corcyra has the best strategic position among the cities in the neighbourhood of the Peloponnese ; Samos, among the cities of Ionia ; Sestos and Crithôte, among those in the Helles-

πόντῳ, Ποτίδαιαν δὲ καὶ Τορώνην τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης;

Ἃς ἐκεῖνος ἁπάσας κτησάμενος παρέδωκεν ὑμῖν, οὐ δαπάναις μεγάλαις, οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας συμμάχους λυμηνάμενος, οὐδὲ πολλὰς ὑμᾶς εἰσφορὰς
109 ἀναγκάσας εἰσενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς μὲν τὸν περίπλουν τὸν περὶ Πελοπόννησον τρία καὶ δέκα μόνον τάλαντα δούσης αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τριήρεις πεντήκοντα Κόρκυραν εἷλε, πόλιν ὀγδοήκοντα τριήρεις κεκτημένην, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνίκησε ναυμαχῶν, καὶ ταύτην αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασε συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣ τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν πόλεων ἐποίησεν,
110 ὥσθ᾽ ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν αὐτῇ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης οὕτω τῇ πόλει συνενεγκούσης, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον μηδ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἑωρᾶσθαι μήτε ναυτικὸν ἐντὸς Μαλέας περιπλέον μήτε πεζὸν στρατόπεδον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ πορευόμενον, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς τῆς περὶ Λεῦκτρα συμφορᾶς εὕροι τις ἂν αἴτιον γεγενημένον.

111 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ Σάμον στρατεύσας, ἣν Περικλῆς ὁ μεγίστην ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν εἰληφὼς ἀπὸ διακοσίων νεῶν καὶ χιλίων ταλάντων κατεπολέ-

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[a] Special taxes levied for military purposes.

[b] Sixty, according to Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 63.

[c] This campaign took place in 375. It was followed up the next year by a peace patched up between Athens and Sparta. Nothing is known about the terms of this peace, but in any case it was promptly broken. See Grote, *History*, vol. ix. pp. 348 ff. Isocrates seems to refer, not to that temporary truce, but to the important "Peace of Callias" in

pont; and Potidaea and Torône among the settlements in Thrace?

All these cities he has taken and presented to you, with no great outlay of money, without imposing burdens upon your present allies, and without forcing you to pay many taxes[a] into the treasury. Indeed, for the voyage of the fleet around the Peloponnese, Athens allowed him only thirteen talents and fifty triremes,[b] and yet he captured Corcyra, a city with a fleet of eighty triremes, and about the same time he won a naval battle over the Lacedaemonians and forced them to agree to the terms of the present peace—a peace which has so changed the relative positions of Athens and of Lacedaemon that from that day to this we celebrate the peace with sacrifices every year because no other treaty has been so advantageous to our city;[c] while, as for the Lacedaemonians, no man since that time has seen a ship of theirs voyage this side of Malea[d] nor any land force advance beyond the Isthmus, and anyone can see in this fact the cause of their disaster at Leuctra.

After these exploits he led an expedition against Samos;[e] and that city which Pericles, renowned above all others for his wisdom, his justice, and his moderation, reduced with a fleet of two hundred ships and the expenditure of a thousand talents,[f]

371, which virtually gave Athens the command of the sea, limiting Sparta to the land, and weakening her, according to Isocrates, for the decisive clash with the Theban power at Leuctra in the same year. See Grote, *History*, vol. ix. pp. 381 ff.

[d] The southern cape of the Peloponnesus.

[e] Captured by Timotheus in 366 B.C. For the campaign see Grote, *History*, vol. x. pp. 54 ff.

[f] Pericles was one of the generals who put down the revolt of Samos from the Athenian Confederacy in 440 B.C. See Thuc. i. 116.

μησε, ταύτην οὔτε πλέον οὔτ' ἔλαττον παρ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν οὔτε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐκλέξας, ἐν δέκα μησὶν ἐξεπολιόρκησεν ὀκτακισχιλίοις πελτασταῖς καὶ τριήρεσι τριάκοντα, καὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν ἐκ τῆς
112 πολεμίας τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. καί τοι τοιοῦτον ἔργον ἄν τις ἄλλος φανῇ πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ ληρεῖν, ὅτι διαφερόντως ἐπαινεῖν ἐπιχειρῶ τὸν οὐδὲν περιττότερον τῶν ἄλλων διαπεπραγμένον.

Ἐντεῦθεν τοίνυν ἀναπλεύσας Σηστὸν καὶ Κριθώτην ἔλαβε, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀμελουμένης Χερρονήσου προσέχειν ὑμᾶς αὐτῇ τὸν νοῦν ἐποίησε.
113 τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Ποτίδαιαν, εἰς ἣν ἡ πόλις τετρακόσια καὶ δισχίλια τάλαντα τὸ πρότερον ἀνήλωσε, ταύτην εἷλεν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπόρισε καὶ τῶν συντάξεων τῶν ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης· καὶ προσέτι Χαλκιδεῖς ἅπαντας κατεπολέμησεν.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀλλὰ διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν, τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεων κυρίους ὑμᾶς ἐποίησεν ἐλάττω δαπανήσας ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν Μηλίων πολιορκίαν ἀνήλωσαν.

114 Ἠβουλόμην δ' ἄν, ὥσπερ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὰς πράξεις ῥᾴδιον γέγονεν, οὕτως οἷόντ' εἶναι συντόμως δηλῶσαι τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα τούτων ἐπράχθη, καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ὡς εἶχε, καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν αἵ τ' εὐεργεσίαι μείζους κἀκεῖνος πλείονος ἄξιος ἔδοξεν εἶναι. νῦν δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσω διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

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[a] Sestos and Crithôte were acquired for Athens by Timotheus as a part of the Samos (Asia Minor) campaign.

[b] The "Thracian" campaign, in the course of which he

Timotheus, without receiving from you or collecting from your allies any money whatsoever, captured after a siege of ten months with a force of eight thousand light-armed troops and thirty triremes, and he paid all these forces from the spoils of war. And if you can point to any other man who has done a like thing, I stand ready to admit my folly in attempting to praise superlatively one who has done no more than others.

Well, then, from Samos he sailed away and captured Sestos and Crithôte,[a] forcing you, who up to that time had been careless of your interests in the Chersonese, to give your attention to that territory. And finally he took Potidaea, upon which Athens had in times past squandered twenty-four hundred talents, and he met the expense from money which he himself provided and from contributions of the Thracians; and, for full measure, he reduced all the Chalcideans to subjection.[b]

To speak, not in detail, but in summary, he made you masters of twenty-four cities and spent in doing so less than your fathers paid out in the siege of Melos.

I could wish that just as it has been quite easy to recount his exploits, so it were possible to picture briefly the circumstances under which each of them was accomplished—what the situation was in Athens in each case and what the strength of our foes—, for you would then have been made to appreciate much more highly the worth of his achievements and of the man himself. As it is, the subject is so large that I must leave it untouched.

won over the cities in the Chalcidean peninsula, took place in 365–364. See Grote, *History*, vol. x. pp. 60 ff.

115 Ἡγοῦμαι δ' ὑμᾶς ἡδέως ἂν ἀκοῦσαι διὰ τί ποτε τῶν μὲν εὐδοκιμούντων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ πολεμικῶν εἶναι δοκούντων οὐδὲ κώμην ἔνιοι λαβεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, Τιμόθεος δ' οὔτε τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν ἔχων ἐρρωμένην οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τοῖς πλανωμένοις κατατετριμμένος, ἀλλ' ὁ μεθ' ὑμῶν πολιτευόμενος τηλικαῦτα διεπράξατο τὸ μέγεθος. ἔστι δ' ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τούτων φιλαπεχθήμων μέν, ῥηθῆναι δ' οὐκ ἀσύμφορος.
116 ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων διήνεγκεν, ὅτι περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ συμμαχικῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς τούτων οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑμῖν γνώμην εἶχεν. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ χειροτονεῖτε στρατηγοὺς τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασι γεγενημένους, ὡς διὰ τούτων διαπραξόμενοί τι τῶν δεόντων. ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν τοιούτοις λοχαγοῖς ἐχρῆτο καὶ ταξιάρ-
117 χοις, αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ ταῦτα δεινὸς ἦν, περὶ ἅπερ χρὴ φρόνιμον εἶναι τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀγαθόν.

Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα τίνα δύναμιν ἔχοντα; δεῖ γὰρ οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς φράσαι περὶ αὐτῶν. πρῶτον μὲν δύνασθαι γνῶναι πρὸς τίνας πολεμητέον καὶ τίνας συμμάχους ποιητέον· ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὕτη στρατηγίας ἐστίν, ἧς ἢν διαμάρτῃ τις, ἀνάγκη τὸν πόλεμον ἀσύμφορον καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ περίεργον
118 εἶναι. περὶ τοίνυν τὴν τοιαύτην προαίρεσιν οὐ μόνον οὐδεὶς τοιοῦτος γέγονεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παραπλήσιος. ῥᾴδιον δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων γνῶναι· πλείστους γὰρ πολέμους ἄνευ τῆς πόλεως ἀνελό-

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[a] With specific reference to Chares, the rival and enemy of Timotheus. See Plutarch, *Moralia* 187, 188.

But I think you would like to have me explain to you why in the world it is that some of the generals who have a high reputation among you and are thought to be great fighters have not been able to take even a village, while Timotheus, who lacks a robust physique and has not knocked about with itinerant armies but has shared with you the duties of a citizen, has accomplished such great things. What I have to say on this question will no doubt be offensive, but it will not be without profit for you to hear it. Timotheus was superior to all the rest in that he did not hold the same views as you with regard to the affairs of the Hellenes and of your allies and the manner in which they should be directed. For you elect as your generals men who have the most robust bodies [a] and who have served in many campaigns with foreign armies, thinking that under their leadership you will have some success. Timotheus, on the other hand, used these men as captains and division-commanders, while he, himself, showed his ability in the very things which it is necessary for a good general to know.

What, then, are the requisites of a good general and what ability do they involve? For they cannot be summed up in a word, but must be explained clearly. First of all is the ability to know against whom and with whose help to make war; for this is the first requisite of good strategy, and if one makes any mistake about this, the result is inevitably a war which is disadvantageous, difficult, and to no purpose. Well, in this kind of sagacity there has never been anyone like him or even comparable with him, as may easily be seen from his deeds themselves. For, although he undertook most of his wars without

μενος, ἅπαντας τούτους κατώρθωσε καὶ δικαίως ἅπασι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔδοξεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι. καί τοι τοῦ καλῶς βουλεύσασθαι τίς ἂν ἀπόδειξιν ἔχοι σαφεστέραν καὶ μείζω ταύτης παρασχέσθαι;

119 Δεύτερον τί προσήκει τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀγαθόν; στρατόπεδον συναγαγεῖν ἁρμόττον τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ παρόντι, καὶ τοῦτο συντάξαι καὶ χρήσασθαι συμφερόντως. ὡς μὲν τοίνυν ἠπίστατο χρῆσθαι καλῶς, αἱ πράξεις αὐταὶ δεδηλώκασιν· ὡς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρασκευάσασθαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίως ἁπάντων διήνεγκεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς
120 ἂν ἄλλως εἰπεῖν τολμήσειεν. ἔτι τοίνυν πρὸς τούτοις ἀπορίας ἐνεγκεῖν στρατοπέδου καὶ πενίας, καὶ πάλιν εὐπορίας εὑρεῖν, τίς οὐκ ἂν τῶν συνεστρατευμένων πρὸς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα διαφέρειν ἐκεῖνον προκρίνειεν; συνίσασι γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς τῶν πολέμων διὰ τὸ μηδὲν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως λαμβάνειν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐνδείας καθιστάμενον, ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα περιιστάναι δυνάμενον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν πολεμίων[1] περιγίγνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐντελεῖς ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς μισθούς.

121 Οὕτω τοίνυν τούτων μεγάλων ὄντων καὶ σφόδρα κατεπειγόντων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχομένοις δικαίως ἄν τις αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπαινέσειεν. ὁρῶν γὰρ ὑμᾶς τούτους μόνους ἄνδρας νομίζοντας, τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκφοβοῦντας τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἀεί τι νεωτερίζοντας ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις, οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησε ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις, οὐδ᾿ ἠβουλήθη βλάπτων τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτ᾿

[1] τῶν πολεμίων Benseler: τῷ πολέμῳ MSS.

support from the city, he brought them all to a successful issue, and convinced all the Hellenes that he won them justly. And what greater or clearer proof of his wise judgement could one adduce than this fact?

What, then, is the second requisite of a good general? It is the ability to collect an army which is adequate to the war in hand, and to organize and to employ it to good advantage. Now, that Timotheus understood how to employ his forces to good purpose, his achievements themselves have shown; that in the ability to recruit armies which were splendidly equipped and reflected honour upon Athens he excelled all other men, no one even of his enemies would dare to gainsay; and, furthermore, in the power both to bear the privations and hardships of army life, and again to find abundant resources, who of the men who were with him in the field would not pronounce him incomparable? For they know that at the beginning of his campaigns, owing to the fact that he received nothing from Athens, he found himself in great extremities, but that, even with this handicap, he was able to bring his fortunes round to the point where he not only prevailed over our enemies but paid his soldiers in full.

These are great things and compel our admiration; but the facts which I now give entitle him to even greater praise. For although he saw that you respected only the kind of generals who threatened and tried to terrify the other cities and were always for setting up some revolution or other among your allies, he did not fall in with your prejudices, nor was he willing to enhance his own reputation to the injury

ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ τοῦτ᾿ ἔπραττεν, ὅπως μηδεμία τῶν πόλεων αὐτὸν φοβήσεται τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι θαρρήσουσι πλὴν τῶν ἀδικουσῶν.
122 ἠπίστατο γὰρ τούς τε δεδιότας ὅτι μισοῦσι δι᾿ οὓς ἂν τοῦτο πεπονθότες τυγχάνωσι, τήν τε πόλιν διὰ μὲν τὴν φιλίαν τὴν τῶν ἄλλων εὐδαιμονεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην γενομένην, διὰ δὲ τὸ μῖσος μικρὸν ἀπολιποῦσαν τοῦ μὴ ταῖς ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενος τῇ μὲν δυνάμει τῇ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς πολεμίους κατεστρέφετο, τῷ δ᾿ ἤθει τῷ αὑτοῦ τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν τῶν ἄλλων προσήγετο, νομίζων τοῦτο στρατήγημα μεῖζον εἶναι καὶ κάλλιον ἢ πολλὰς πόλεις ἑλεῖν καὶ πολλάκις νικῆσαι
123 μαχόμενος. οὕτω δ᾿ ἐσπούδαζε περὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων μηδὲ μικρὰν ὑποψίαν περὶ αὑτοῦ λαβεῖν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος, ὥσθ᾿ ὁπότε μέλλοι τινὰ παραπλεῖν τῶν μὴ τὰς συντάξεις διδουσῶν, πέμψας προηγόρευε τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐξαίφνης ὀφθεὶς εἰς θόρυβον καὶ ταραχὴν
124 αὐτοὺς καταστήσειεν. εἰ δὲ τύχοι καθορμισθεὶς πρὸς τὴν χώραν, οὐκ ἂν ἐφῆκε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἁρπάζειν καὶ κλέπτειν καὶ πορθεῖν τὰς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην εἶχεν ἐπιμέλειαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν γίγνεσθαι τοιοῦτον, ὅσην περ οἱ δεσπόται τῶν χρημάτων· οὐ γὰρ τούτῳ προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων αὐτὸς εὐδοκιμήσει παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἀλλ᾿ ὅπως ἡ πόλις παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλη-
125 σιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰς δοριαλώτους τῶν πόλεων οὕτω πράως διῴκει καὶ νομίμως ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος

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[a] *Cf. Areop.* 2 and note.

of Athens; on the contrary, he made it the object of his thought and of his actions to see to it that no one of the cities of Hellas should be afraid of him, but that all should feel secure excepting those which did wrong; for he realized that men who are afraid hate those who inspire this feeling in them, and that it was due to the friendship of the other cities that Athens rose to great power and prosperity, just as it was due to their hatred that she barely escaped the most disastrous fate. Bearing in mind these facts, he used the power of Athens in order to subdue her enemies, and the force of his own character in order to win the good will of the rest of the world, believing that this is a greater and nobler kind of generalship than to conquer many cities many times in battle. So concerned was he that none of the cities should in the slightest degree suspect him of sinister designs that whenever he intended to take his fleet to any of the cities which had been remiss in their contributions,[a] he sent word to the authorities and announced his coming beforehand, lest his appearance without warning in front of their ports might plunge them into disquiet and confusion; and if he happened to harbour his fleet in any place, he would never permit his soldiers to plunder and pillage and sack the people's houses, but took as great precautions to prevent such an occurrence as the owners would take to guard their own possessions; for his mind was not upon winning for himself the good opinion of his soldiers by such licence, but upon winning for Athens the good opinion of the Hellenes. Moreover, when cities had been taken by him in battle, he would treat them with a mildness and a consideration for their rights

τὰς συμμαχίδας, ἡγούμενος, εἰ τοιοῦτος ὢν φαίνοιτο περὶ τοὺς πολεμήσαντας, τὴν μεγίστην πίστιν ἔσεσθαι δεδωκὼς ὡς οὐδέποτ' ἂν περί γε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξαμαρτεῖν τολμήσειεν.

126 Τοιγάρτοι διὰ τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐκ τούτων γιγνομένην πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς δυσκόλως ἐχουσῶν ἀναπεπταμέναις αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο ταῖς πύλαις· ἐν αἷς ἐκεῖνος οὐδεμίαν ταραχὴν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἰκουμένας αὐτὰς εἰσιὼν κατέλαβεν, οὕτως ἐξιὼν κατέλειπεν.

127 Κεφάλαιον δὲ πάντων τούτων· εἰθισμένων γὰρ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον πολλῶν γίγνεσθαι καὶ δεινῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατηγίας οὐδεὶς ἂν οὔτ' ἀναστάσεις εὕροι γεγενημένας οὔτε πολιτειῶν μεταβολὰς οὔτε σφαγὰς καὶ φυγὰς οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἀλλ' οὕτως αἱ τοιαῦται συμφοραὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐλώφησαν, ὥστε μόνος ὧν ἡμεῖς μνημονεύομεν
128 ἀνέγκλητον τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Ἕλλησι παρέσχε. καίτοι χρὴ στρατηγὸν ἄριστον νομίζειν οὐκ εἴ τις μιᾷ τύχῃ τηλικοῦτόν τι κατώρθωσεν ὥσπερ Λύσανδρος, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαπράξασθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν καὶ δυσκόλων πραγμάτων ὀρθῶς ἀεὶ πράττων καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντως διατετέλεκεν· ὅπερ Τιμοθέῳ συμβέβηκεν.

129 Οἶμαι οὖν ὑμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς θαυμάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ νομίζειν τὸν ἔπαινον τὸν ἐκείνου κατηγορίαν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, εἰ τοσαύτας μὲν πόλεις

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[a] *Cf. Panath.* 259.

[b] He happened to be in command of the Spartan forces

which no one else has ever shown to allies in war; for he thought that if he showed such an attitude toward those who had made war upon him, he could give no greater guarantee that he would never bring himself to wrong the others.

Therefore it was that, because of the reputation which this conduct gave him, many of the cities which had no love for Athens used to welcome him with gates thrown wide; and he, in turn, never set up any disturbance in them, but just as he found them governed when he entered their gates, so he left them when he passed out.

And now to sum up all this: In other times many calamities were wont to be visited upon the Hellenes, but, under his leadership, no one can point to cities devastated, governments overthrown, men murdered or driven into exile, or any other of those ills that are irreparable.[a] Nay, so complete was the respite from such misfortunes in his day that, so far back as we can remember, he is the only general under whom no complaint was raised against Athens by the other Hellenes. And surely you ought to find your ideal of a good general, not in one who by a single stroke of good fortune has attained, like Lysander,[b] a success which it has been the lot of no other man to achieve, but one who, though loaded with many difficult responsibilities of all sorts, has always discharged them with honesty and wisdom. And just this has been the fortune of Timotheus.

Most of you are, I suppose, astonished at what I am saying, and think that in praising him I am condemning Athens, since he, after having captured so many

when the Athenian empire crumpled at the battle of Aegospotami.

ἑλόντα μηδεμίαν δ' ἀπολέσαντα περὶ προδοσίας ἔκρινε, καὶ πάλιν εἰ διδόντος εὐθύνας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰς μὲν πράξεις Ἰφικράτους ἀναδεχομένου, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων λόγον Μενεσθέως, τούτους μὲν ἀπέλυσε, Τιμόθεον δὲ τοσούτοις ἐζημίωσε χρήμασιν ὅσοις οὐδένα πώποτε τῶν προγεγενη-
130 μένων. ἔχει δ' οὕτως· βούλομαι γὰρ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λόγον εἰπεῖν. εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποβλέποντες σκέψεσθε περὶ τούτων, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια πᾶσιν εἶναι δόξει τὰ πεπραγμένα περὶ Τιμόθεον· ἢν δ' ἀναλογίσησθε τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὅσην ἔχομεν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ τοὺς φθόνους τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ταραχὰς καὶ τὴν τύρβην ἐν ᾗ ζῶμεν, οὐδὲν τούτων ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως εὑρεθήσεται γεγενημένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Τιμόθεος μέρος τι συμβεβλημένος τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τρόπον γνωσθῆναι
131 περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὔτε μισόδημος ὢν οὔτε μισάνθρωπος οὔθ' ὑπερήφανος, οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν, διὰ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην τὴν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μὲν συμφέρουσαν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς χρείας τῶν ἀεὶ προσπιπτόντων οὐχ ἁρμόττουσαν, ἅπασιν ἔδοξεν ἔνοχος εἶναι τοῖς προειρημένοις· οὕτω γὰρ ἀφυὴς ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεραπείαν ὥσπερ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν.

[a] In the campaign against Byzantium, which was aided by the Chians and their allies (357 B.C.), a conflict arose between Chares and the other commanders of the Athenian fleet, Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Menestheus, Iphicrates' son. Chares persisted in carrying out a plan of attack which had been agreed upon but which the others abandoned on account of a storm. Unsupported in this, he was defeated. Returning to Athens, he then charged his colleagues with treason and corruption. In the trial Iphicrates shouldered

cities and having never lost a single one, was tried for treason, and again when he submitted his reports, and Iphicrates took upon himself the responsibility for the conduct of the campaign and Menestheus accounted for the moneys expended upon it, they, on the one hand, were acquitted, while Timotheus was fined a larger sum than anyone in the past had ever been condemned to pay.[a] The fact is, however, that I desire to stand up for Athens also. It is true that if you consider the actions of the city by the standard of pure justice, no one of you can avoid the conclusion that her treatment of Timotheus was cruel and abominable ; but if you make allowance for the ignorance which possesses all mankind, for the feelings of envy that are aroused in us, and, furthermore, for the confusion and turmoil in which we live, you will find that nothing of what has been done has come about without a reason nor does the cause lie outside our human weakness, but that Timotheus, also, has been responsible in some degree for the mistaken judgements passed upon him. For while he was no anti-democrat nor a misanthrope, nor arrogant, nor possessed of any such defect of character, yet because of his proud bearing—an advantage to the office of a general but out of place in dealing with men from day to day—everyone attributed to him the faults which I have named ; for he was by nature as inept in courting the favour of men as he was gifted in handling affairs.

the responsibility for the campaign, and Menestheus gave a full accounting for the receipts and expenditures. They were acquitted, while Timotheus, never popular with the demos, was fined 100 talents. See § 101, note. Isocrates' version of the facts is generally accepted. See Grote, *History*, vol. xi. pp. 30 ff.

132 Καί τοι πολλάκις καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τοιούτους λόγους ἤκουσεν, ὡς χρὴ τοὺς πολιτευομένους καὶ βουλομένους ἀρέσκειν προαιρεῖσθαι μὲν τῶν τε πράξεων τὰς ὠφελιμωτάτας καὶ βελτίστας καὶ τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους καὶ δικαιοτάτους, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνο παρατηρεῖν καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἐπιχαρίτως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα φανήσονται καὶ λέγοντες καὶ πράττοντες, ὡς οἱ τούτων ὀλιγωροῦντες ἐπαχθέστεροι καὶ βαρύτεροι δοκοῦσιν
133 εἶναι τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις. "ὁρᾷς δὲ τὴν φύσιν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ὡς διάκειται πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς, καὶ διότι μᾶλλον φιλοῦσι τοὺς πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦντας ἢ τοὺς εὖ ποιοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ φαιδρότητος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας φενακίζοντας ἢ τοὺς μετ' ὄγκου καὶ σεμνότητος ὠφελοῦντας. ὧν οὐδέν σοι μεμέληκεν, ἀλλ' ἢν ἐπιεικῶς τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων ἐπιμεληθῇς, οἴει σοι καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε
134 πολιτευομένους καλῶς ἕξειν. τὸ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν. ἢν γὰρ τούτοις ἀρέσκῃς, ἅπαν ὅ τι ἂν πράξῃς οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν κρινοῦσιν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σοὶ συμφέρον ὑπολήψονται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτανόμενα παρόψονται, τὸ δὲ κατορθωθὲν οὐρανόμηκες ποιήσουσιν· ἡ γὰρ εὔνοια πάντας οὕτω διατίθησιν.

135 "Ἣν σὺ τῇ μὲν πόλει παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κτήσασθαι ζητεῖς, ἡγούμενος μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ σαυτῷ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ οἴει δεῖν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην παρασκευάζειν,

Indeed he has often been advised by me, among others, that while men who are in public life and desire to be in favour must adopt the principle of doing what is most serviceable and noble and of saying what is most true and just, yet they must at the same time not neglect to study and consider well how in everything they say and do they may convince the people of their graciousness and human sympathy; since those who are careless of these matters are thought by their fellow-citizens to be disagreeable and offensive. "You observe," I would say to him, "the nature of the multitude, how susceptible they are to flattery; that they like those who cultivate their favour better than those who seek their good; and that they prefer those who cheat them with beaming smiles and brotherly love to those who serve them with dignity and reserve. You have paid no attention to these things, but are of the opinion that if you attend honestly to your enterprises abroad, the people at home also will think well of you. But this is not the case, and the very contrary is wont to happen. For if you please the people in Athens, no matter what you do they will not judge your conduct by the facts but will construe it in a light favourable to you; and if you make mistakes, they will overlook them, while if you succeed, they will exalt your success to the high heaven. For good will has this effect upon all men.

"But you, while seeking by every means in your power to win for Athens the good will of the rest of the Hellenes, because you recognize its great advantages, nevertheless do not consider that there is any need to secure for yourself the good will of

ἀλλὰ πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γεγενημένος χεῖρον διάκεισαι τῶν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου διαπεπραγμένων.

136 "Εἰκότως· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις συλλόγοις λογοποιεῖν δυναμένους καὶ πάντα προσποιουμένους εἰδέναι θεραπεύουσι, σὺ δ' οὐ μόνον ἀμελεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμεῖς τοῖς μέγιστον ἀεὶ δυναμένοις αὐτῶν.

"Καί τοι πόσους οἴει διὰ τὰς τούτων ψευδολογίας τοὺς μὲν συμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκέναι, τοὺς δ' ἀτίμους εἶναι; πόσους δὲ τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀνωνύμους εἶναι;[1] πολὺ σπουδαιοτέρους καὶ πλέονος ἀξίους γεγενημένους τῶν ᾀδομένων καὶ τραγῳ-
137 δουμένων; ἀλλ' οἱ μέν, οἶμαι, ποιητῶν ἔτυχον καὶ λογοποιῶν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔσχον τοὺς ὑμνήσοντας. ἢν οὖν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ καὶ νοῦν ἔχῃς, οὐ καταφρονήσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, οἷς τὸ πλῆθος εἴθισται πιστεύειν οὐ μόνον περὶ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειάν τινα ποιήσει καὶ θεραπείαν αὐτῶν, ἵν' εὐδοκιμήσῃς δι' ἀμφότερα, καὶ διὰ τὰς σαυτοῦ πράξεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τούτων λόγους."

138 Ταῦτα δ' ἀκούων ὀρθῶς μὲν ἔφασκέ με λέγειν, οὐ μὴν οἷός τ' ἦν τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς

[1] πόσους δὲ τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀνωνύμους εἶναι; ΔΕΘ: om. Γ.

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[a] This recalls the poetic commonplace on the immortality lent by literature, for example in the familiar lines of Horace (*Odes* iv. 9. 25-28):

vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
multi; sed omnes inlacrimabiles
 urgentur ignotique longa
 nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

Athens; nay, you who have benefited the city in ways beyond calculation are less esteemed than those who have done nothing of note.

"And you could expect nothing else; for such men cultivate the public orators and the speakers who are effective in private gatherings and who profess to be authorities on every subject, while you not only neglect to do this, but actually make an open breach between yourself and the orators who are from time to time the most influential.

"And yet I wonder if you realize how many men have either come to grief or failed of honour because of the misrepresentations of these orators; how many in the generations that are past have left no name, although they were far better and worthier men than those who are celebrated in song and on the tragic stage. But the latter, you see, found their poets and historians, while the others secured no one to hymn their praises.[a] Therefore, if you will only heed me and be sensible, you will not despise these men whom the multitude are wont to believe, not only with reference to each one of their fellow-citizens, but also with reference to the affairs of the whole state, but you will in some measure show attention and pay court to them in order that you may be held in honour both because of your own deeds and because of their words."

When I would speak to him in this wise, he would admit that I was right, but he could not change his nature. He was a good man and true, a credit to

Ἑλλάδος ἄξιος, οὐ μὴν σύμμετρός γε τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσοι τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὑτοὺς πεφυκόσιν ἀχθόμενοι τυγχάνουσι. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν ῥήτορες ἔργον εἶχον αἰτίας περὶ αὐτοῦ πολλὰς καὶ ψευδεῖς πλάττειν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀποδέχεσθαι
139 τὰς ὑπὸ τούτων λεγομένας. περὶ ὧν ἡδέως ἂν ἀπελογησάμην, εἰ καιρὸν εἶχον· οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαντας μισῆσαι τούς τε προαγαγόντας τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς φλαῦρόν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν τολμῶντας. νῦν δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσω, περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων πραγμάτων πάλιν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους.

140 Ἀπορῶ δ' ὅ τι χρήσομαι τοῖς ὑπολοίποις, καὶ τίνος πρώτου μνησθῶ καὶ ποίου δευτέρου· τὸ γὰρ ἐφεξῆς με λέγειν διαπέφευγεν. ἴσως μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἂν ἕκαστον τύχῃ προσπεσόν, οὕτως εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· ἃ δ' οὖν μοι νῦν ἐπελήλυθε, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι δηλωτέον, ἄλλος δέ τίς μοι συνεβούλευε μὴ λέγειν, οὐκ ἀπο-
141 κρύψομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπήνεγκε τὴν γραφήν, ἐσκόπουν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ὥσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος, καὶ τόν τε βίον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐξήταζον, καὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας διέτριβον ἐφ' αἷς ᾠόμην ἐπαινεῖσθαί με προσήκειν. ἀκροώμενος δέ τις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν πρός με λόγον πάντων σχετλιώτατον, ὡς ἄξια μὲν εἴη τὰ λεγόμενα φιλοτιμίας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' αὐτός γε δεδιέναι ταῦτα μάλιστα, μὴ πολλοὺς λυπήσῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων.

142 "Οὕτω γάρ" ἔφη "τινὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου καὶ τῶν ἀποριῶν ἐξηγρίωνται καὶ δυσμενῶς ἔχουσιν, ὥστ' οὐ ταῖς πονηρίαις ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις πολε-

Athens and to Hellas, but he could not lower himself to the level of people who are intolerant of their natural superiors. So it was that the orators occupied themselves with inventing many false charges against him, and the multitude with drinking them in. I should be glad to refute these slanders, if the occasion permitted me to do so; for I believe that if you could hear me, you would come to loathe the men who have stirred the city to anger against Timotheus and the men who dare to speak evil of him. Now, however, I shall leave this subject and take up again my own defence and the case before us.

But I am at a loss to know how to proceed with the rest of my speech—what topic to take up first and what next; for the power to speak in any set order has escaped me. Perhaps, therefore, I have no choice but to discuss each point as it happens to occur to me. Accordingly, I am going to lay bare to you the thoughts which have now come into my mind. I have been thinking all along that I ought to put them before you, but I have been advised against doing so. For when I was indicted, I pondered these very matters, as any one of you would have done, and I reviewed my life and my actions, dwelling longest on the things for which I thought I deserved approbation. But one of my associates, hearing me, made bold to urge an objection which was amazing in the extreme; he stated that while my life as I described it was worthy of emulation, yet he himself greatly feared that my story would irritate many of my hearers.

"Some men," he said, "have been so brutalized by envy and want and are so hostile that they wage war, not on depravity, but on prosperity; they

μοῦσι, καὶ μισοῦσιν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ βέλτιστα, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς τοῖς μὲν ἀδικοῦσι συναγωνίζονται καὶ συγγνώμην ἔχουσιν, οἷς δ' ἂν φθονήσωσιν ἀπολλύουσιν, ἥν περ δυνη-
143 θῶσι. ταῦτα δὲ δρῶντες οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι περὶ ὧν τὴν ψῆφον οἴσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀδικήσειν μὲν ἐλπίζοντες, ὀφθήσεσθαι δ' οὐ προσδοκῶντες· σώζοντες οὖν τοὺς ὁμοίους σφίσιν αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν νομίζουσι.

"Τούτου δ' ἕνεκά σοι ταῦτα διῆλθον, ἵνα προειδὼς ἄμεινον προσφέρῃ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀσφαλεστέροις χρῇ πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε τίνα χρὴ προσδοκᾶν γνώμην ἕξειν τοὺς τοιούτους, ὅταν τόν τε βίον τὸν σαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς πράξεις διεξίῃς μηδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ὁμοίας οὔσας ταῖς τούτων, ἀλλ' οἵας
144 περ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγειν ἐπιχειρεῖς; ἀποφαίνεις γὰρ τούς τε λόγους οὓς γέγραφας οὐ μέμψεως ἀλλὰ χάριτος τῆς μεγίστης ἀξίους ὄντας, τῶν τε πεπλησιακότων σοι τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲν ἠδικηκότας οὐδ' ἡμαρτηκότας, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστεφανωμένους, τά τε καθ' ἡμέραν οὕτω κοσμίως καὶ τεταγμένως βεβιωκότα σαυτὸν ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν πολιτῶν, ἔτι δὲ μήτε δεδικασμένον μηδενὶ μήτε πεφευγότα πλὴν περὶ ἀντιδόσεως, μήθ' ἑτέροις συνηγωνισμένον μήτε μεμαρτυρηκότα, μήτ' ἄλλο πεποιηκότα μηδέν, ἐν οἷς
145 ἅπαντες πολιτευόμενοι[1] τυγχάνουσι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὕτως ἰδίοις οὖσι καὶ περιττοῖς κἀκεῖνο λέγεις, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν ὠφελιῶν τῶν ἐντεῦθεν

[1] πολιτευόμενοι Benseler: οἱ πολιτευόμενοι MSS.

[a] The voting of Athenian juries was by secret ballot. *Cf. Areop.* 34.
[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 17 D.

hate not only the best men but the noblest pursuits; and, in addition to their other faults, they take sides with wrong-doers and are in sympathy with them, while they destroy, whenever they have the power, those whom they have cause to envy. They do these things, not because they are ignorant of the issues on which they are to vote, but because they intend to inflict injury and do not expect to be found out;[a] and so, by protecting those of their own kind, they think they are providing for their own safety.

"I have told you this in order that, being forewarned, you may be able to handle your case to better advantage and to use less dangerous arguments before the jury. For as things are, what judgement can you expect such men to reach when you tell them of your life and your conduct, which are not in the least degree like their own, but such as you are attempting to describe to me? For you show that the speeches which you have written merit, not blame, but the highest favour; that the men who have been under your instruction have in no case been guilty of wrong-doing or of crime, while some of them have been crowned by the city in recognition of their worth: that from day to day you, yourself, have lived so uprightly and lawfully that I know not who of your fellow-citizens can compare with you; and that, furthermore, you have never brought anyone to trial nor stood trial yourself[b] save in the matter of an exchange of property, nor have you appeared as counsel or as witness for others, nor have you engaged in any other of the activities which make up the civic life of all Athenians. And to these peculiarities and idiosyncrasies you add another, namely, that you have held aloof from

γιγνομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν κοινῶν ἐξέστηκας, εἰς δὲ τοὺς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς εἰσφέροντας καὶ λειτουργοῦντας οὐ μόνον αὑτὸν παρέχεις ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν υἱόν, καὶ τρὶς μὲν ἤδη τετριηραρχήκατε, τὰς δ' ἄλλας λειτουργίας πολυτελέστερον λελειτουργήκατε καὶ κάλλιον ὧν οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσι.

146 "Ταῦτ' ἀκούοντας τοὺς τἀναντία πᾶσι τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐπιτετηδευκότας οὐκ οἴει βαρέως οἴσειν καὶ νομιεῖν ἐλέγχεσθαι τὸν βίον τὸν αὑτῶν οὐ σπουδαῖον ὄντα; καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν μετὰ πόνου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ᾐσθάνοντό σε ποριζόμενον εἴς τε τὰς λειτουργίας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως ἔμελεν αὐτοῖς· νῦν δὲ τά τε παρὰ τῶν ξένων σοι γιγνόμενα πολὺ πλείω νομίζουσιν εἶναι
147 τῶν διδομένων, αὐτόν τε σὲ ῥᾳθυμότερον ἡγοῦνται ζῆν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτήν σοι πραγματείαν ὄντων.

"Ὁρῶσι γὰρ ἐκείνων μὲν τοὺς πλείστους, πλὴν τῶν τὸν σὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἠγαπηκότων, ἔν τε ταῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις συλλόγοις ἐπιδείξεις ποιουμένους, διαγωνιζομένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπισχνουμένους, ἐρίζοντας,
148 λοιδορουμένους, οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντας κακῶν, ἀλλὰ σφίσι μὲν αὐτοῖς πράγματα παρέχοντας, τοῖς δ' ἀκροωμένοις ἐξουσίαν παραδιδόντας τοῖς μὲν κατα-

[a] Isocrates married Plathane, the widow of Hippias of Elis, and adopted her son Aphareus. So far as we know, he had no children of his own. See Jebb, *Attic Orators* vol. ii. p. 30.

[b] The twelve hundred richest citizens in Athens paid the special tax levies for war purposes and performed at private expense the "liturgies" (public services), such as standing

the public offices and the emoluments which go with them, and from all other privileges of the commonwealth as well, while you have enrolled not only yourself but your son [a] among the twelve hundred who pay the war-taxes and bear the liturgies, and you and he have three times discharged the trierarchy, besides having performed the other services more generously and handsomely than the laws require.[b]

"When you say these things to men whose conduct is the opposite of all which has been said, do you not suppose that they will take offence and think that you are showing up the unworthiness of their own lives? For possibly if they had seen that it is through hard work and sacrifice that you provide yourself with the means wherewith to discharge your public duties and to maintain your affairs in general, they would not have felt the same about it. But in fact they think that these fees which come to you from your foreign pupils are much greater than they actually are, and they consider that you live in greater ease and comfort than not only the people in general but also than those who cultivate philosophy and are of the same profession as yourself.

"For they see most of the sophists, excepting those who have embraced your life and ways, showing off their oratory in the public assemblies or in private gatherings, contesting against each other, making extravagant professions, disputing, reviling each other, omitting nothing in the language of abuse, but in effect damaging their own cause and giving licence to their auditors, now to ridicule what they

the expense of the training of a chorus for the drama or of fitting out a ship of war (trierarchy). See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* p. 371.

γελάσαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἐνίοις δ' ἐπαινέσαι, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις μισῆσαι, τοῖς δ' ὅπως ἕκαστοι βούλονται διατεθῆναι πρὸς αὐτούς· σὲ δ' οὐδενὸς μετέχοντα τούτων, ἀλλ' ἀνομοίως ζῶντα καὶ τοῖς σοφισταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις, καὶ τοῖς πολλὰ κε-
149 κτημένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπόρως διακειμένοις. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ μὲν λογίζεσθαι δυνάμενοι καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἴσως ἄν σε ζηλώσειαν, οἱ δὲ καταδεέστερον πράττοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἰωθότες ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιεικείαις ἢ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀτυχίαις οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ δυσκολανοῦσι καὶ χαλεπῶς οἴσουσιν. ὡς οὖν οὕτως αὐτῶν διατεθησομένων σκόπει τί σοι λεκτέον τούτων καὶ τί παραλειπτέον ἐστίν."

150 Ἐγὼ δὲ κἀκείνου τότε ταῦτα λέγοντος καὶ νῦν ἡγοῦμαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀτοπωτάτους εἶναι καὶ σχετλιωτάτους, οἵτινες βαρέως ἂν ἀκούοιεν εἰ λειτουργοῦντα μὲν ἐμαυτὸν τῇ πόλει παρέχω καὶ ποιοῦντα τὸ προστακτόμενον, μηδὲν δὲ δέομαι μήτε κληροῦσθαι τῶν ἀρχῶν ἕνεκα, μήτε λαμβάνειν ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡ πόλις δίδωσι, μήτ' αὖ
151 φεύγειν δίκας μήτε διώκειν. ταῦτα γὰρ συνεταξάμην οὐ διὰ πλοῦτον οὐδὲ δι' ὑπερηφανίαν, οὐδὲ καταφρονῶν τῶν μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐμοὶ ζώντων, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἡσυχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην ἀγαπῶν, μάλιστα δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντας, ἔπειτα τὸν βίον ἡδίω νομίσας εἶναι τοῦτον ἢ τὸν τῶν πολλὰ πραττόντων, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς διατριβαῖς

[a] *Cf. Panath.* 12, 13. Havet (Introd. to Cartelier's *Antidosis* p. xlix) contrasts the dignity of the discourses of Isocrates with the personalities and recriminations characteristic of the public orators of his day.

[b] *Cf. Panath.* 12.

say, sometimes to praise them, most often to despise them, and again to think of them whatever they like. But in you they see a man who has no part in these things,[a] who lives in a manner different from the sophists as well as from laymen, and from those who enjoy many possessions as well as from those who live in want. It is true that reasonable and intelligent people might perhaps congratulate you on these grounds, but people who are less fortunate and are wont to be more chagrined at the honest prosperity of others than at their own ill fortune cannot fail to be surly and resentful. Knowing, then, that such will be the attitude of your audience, consider well what you had better say and what you had better leave unsaid."

But I thought as he said these things and I think now that they would be of all men the strangest and most perverse who could take offence at being told that I hold myself at the service of Athens in discharging the liturgies and performing any public duty she enjoins, and yet do not ask to have any part in the allotment of the offices nor in the distribution of the gifts she doles out to others, nor in the privilege of prosecuting or defending cases in the courts.[b] For I have prescribed this course for myself, not because I am rich or have any false pride, nor because I look down on those who do not live in the same way as I do, but because I love peace and tranquillity, and most of all because I see that men who so live are looked up to both in Athens and in other parts of the world. Moreover, I consider that this kind of life is more agreeable than that of men who are busy with a multitude of things, and that it is, besides, more in keeping with the

ταῖς ἐμαῖς πρεπωδέστερον, αἷς ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστησάμην.

152 Τούτων μὲν ἕνεκα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ζῆν προειλόμην· τῶν δὲ λημμάτων τῶν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπεσχόμην δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος, εἰ δυνάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τρέφειν ἐμαυτὸν ἐμποδὼν τῳ γενήσομαι τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ζῆν ἠναγκασμένων, καὶ[1] διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν ἐνδεής τις γενήσεται τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

Ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπαίνου τυγχάνειν ἄξιος ἦν μᾶλλον ἢ
153 διαβολῆς. νῦν δ' εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καθέστηκα, τί δρῶν ἀρέσαι δυνηθείην ἂν τοῖς τοιούτοις. εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἔργον ποιούμενος ὅπως μηδένα μήτ' ἀδικήσω μήτ' ἐνοχλήσω μήτε λυπήσω, δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα λυπῶ τινας, τί ποιῶν ἂν χαριζοίμην; ἢ τί λοιπόν ἐστι πλὴν ἐμὲ μὲν ἀτυχῆ, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ἀμαθεῖς δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ δυσκόλους τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις;

154 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς μηδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις γιγνώσκοντας, ἀλλὰ χαλεπωτέρους ὄντας τοῖς μὴ κακῶς πράττουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι, μωρόν ἐστιν ἀπολογίαν ζητεῖν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἄν τις ἐπιεικέστερον αὑτὸν ἐπιδείξῃ, δῆλον ὅτι τοσούτῳ χεῖρον ἀγωνιεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, περὶ ὧν Λυσίμαχος διέβαλεν, ὡς παμπληθῆ κεκτήμεθα τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ πιστευθεὶς ὁ λόγος εἰς μείζους καὶ πλείους ἡμᾶς ἐμβάλῃ λειτουργίας ὧν ὑπενεγκεῖν ἂν δυνηθεῖμεν.

[1] ἠναγκασμένων, καὶ Hirschig: ἠναγκασμένων λαβεῖν τὸ διδόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ MSS.

[a] For example, by presenting himself for service on the juries and drawing pay for this. *Cf. Areop.* 24 and note.

career to which I have dedicated myself from the first.

It was for these reasons that I chose this manner of life. And if I have refrained from accepting the bounties which are distributed by the city it was because I thought it outrageous if I, who am able to maintain myself from my private resources, should stand in the way of any of those who have been compelled to get their livelihood from the city, and if because of my presence [a] anyone should be deprived of the necessities of existence.[b]

Now for this I deserved praise rather than prejudice. But as things are I am utterly at a loss to know what I could do to satisfy men of this stamp. For if I have made it my object all my life not to injure or burden or offend any man, and if by this very course I offend certain people, what could I do to please them? Or what conclusion is left to me other than that I seem to be unfortunate, and that these people appear to be boorish and churlish toward their fellow-citizens?

It is, therefore, utter folly to seek to justify myself to those who are not minded like other men but are harder on the innocent than on the guilty; for it is obvious that the more honest a man shows himself to be, the more hopeless will he make his case in their eyes. But to the others [c] I must address myself in reply to the false charge of Lysimachus that I am possessed of enormous wealth, lest this statement, if credited, impose upon me greater public burdens than I could bear.

[b] See *Areop.* 54, note. *Cf. Areop.* 24.

[c] So Socrates, in Plato's *Apology*, addresses first one group of the jury, then the other.

155 Ὅλως μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς εὑρεθήσεται τῶν καλουμένων σοφιστῶν πολλὰ χρήματα συλλεξάμενος, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐν ὀλίγοις οἱ δ' ἐν πάνυ μετρίοις τὸν βίον διαγαγόντες· ὁ δὲ πλεῖστα κτησάμενος ὧν ἡμεῖς μνημονεύομεν, Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος, οὗτος διατρίψας μὲν περὶ Θετταλίαν, ὅτ' εὐδαιμονέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦσαν, πλεῖστον δὲ χρόνον βιοὺς καὶ περὶ τὸν χρηματισμὸν τοῦτον γενόμενος,
156 πόλιν δ' οὐδεμίαν καταπαγίως οἰκήσας οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ δαπανηθεὶς οὐδ' εἰσφορὰν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἀναγκασθείς, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις οὔτε γυναῖκα γήμας οὔτε παῖδας ποιησάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀτελὴς γενόμενος καὶ ταύτης τῆς λειτουργίας τῆς ἐνδελεχεστάτης καὶ πολυτελεστάτης, τοσοῦτον προλαβὼν πρὸς τὸ πλείω κτήσασθαι τῶν ἄλλων,
157 χιλίους μόνους στατῆρας κατέλιπε. καί τοι χρὴ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς ἀλλήλων μὴ τοῖς αἰτιωμένοις εἰκῇ πιστεύειν, μηδὲ τὰς ἐργασίας ἴσας νομίζειν τάς τε τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς τέχναις ὄντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κρίνειν, καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίαν ἐν ἑκάστῃ δύναμιν λαβόντας παραπλησίαν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχειν
158 νομίζειν. ἢν οὖν ἐξισώσητέ με τῷ πλεῖστον ἐξειργασμένῳ καὶ θῆτε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, οὔθ' ὑμεῖς παντάπασιν ἀσκέπτως εἰκάζειν δόξετε περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὔθ' ἡμεῖς εὑρεθεῖμεν ἂν οὔτε τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς κακῶς διῳκηκότες, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων ζῶντες ὧν εἰς

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[a] See General Introd. p. xii.

[b] See *Peace* 117.

[c] He lived one hundred and seven years according to Cicero, *De senect.* v.

Now, generally speaking, you will find that no one of the so-called sophists has accumulated a great amount of money, but that some of them have lived in poor, others in moderate circumstances. The man who in our recollection laid up the most was Gorgias of Leontini.[a] He spent his time in Thessaly when the Thessalians were the most prosperous[b] people in Hellas; he lived a long life[c] and devoted himself to the making of money; he had no fixed domicile in any city and therefore paid out nothing for public weal nor was he subject to any tax; moreover, he did not marry and beget children, but was free from this, the most unremitting and expensive of burdens; and yet, although he had so great an advantage toward laying up more wealth than any other man, he left at his death only a thousand staters.[d] And surely on the subject of each other's incomes we must not credit people who make charges at haphazard nor think that the earnings of the sophists are equal to those of the actors,[e] but should judge men of the same profession in reference to each other and go on the principle that those of the same order of talent in each profession have incomes which are comparable. If, then, you will class me with the sophist who has made more money than any other, and will compare me with him, you will not seem to engage in utterly blind conjectures on such matters, nor shall I be found to have managed badly in providing either for the public welfare or for my own, although, as a matter of fact, I have lived on less than I have expended on my public

[d] A gold coin about equal in value to the guinea.

[e] Popular actors, especially in comedy, received high pay. See Böckh, *Public Economy of Athens* p. 120.

τὰς λειτουργίας ἀνηλώκαμεν. καί τοι τοὺς εὐ-
τελεστέρους ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἢ τοῖς κοινοῖς ὄντας
δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐπαινεῖν.

159 Ἐνθυμοῦμαι δὲ μεταξὺ λέγων, ὅσον τὰ τῆς
πόλεως μεταπέπτωκε, καὶ τὰς διανοίας ὡς οὐδὲν
ὁμοίας περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οἱ νῦν τοῖς πρότερον
πεπολιτευμένοις ἔχουσιν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ παῖς
ἦν, οὕτως ἐνομίζετο τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι
καὶ σεμνὸν ὥστ᾽ ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντες προσεποιοῦντο
πλείω κεκτῆσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν ἧς ἔχοντες ἐτύγχανον,
160 βουλόμενοι μετασχεῖν τῆς δόξης ταύτης· νῦν δ᾽
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πλουτεῖν ὥσπερ τῶν μεγίστων
ἀδικημάτων ἀπολογίαν δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ
σκοπεῖν, εἰ μέλλει τις σωθήσεσθαι. πολὺ γὰρ
δεινότερον καθέστηκε τὸ δοκεῖν εὐπορεῖν ἢ τὸ
φανερῶς ἀδικεῖν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἢ συγγνώμης ἔτυχον
ἢ μικροῖς ἐζημιώθησαν, οἱ δ᾽ ἄρδην ἀπόλλυνται,
καὶ πλείους ἂν εὕροιμεν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὄντων
ἐκπεπτωκότας ἢ τοὺς δίκην ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρ-
τημάτων δεδωκότας.

161 Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν; αὐτὸς γὰρ
οὐ μικρὸν διήμαρτον διὰ ταύτην τὴν μεταβολὴν
τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πραγμάτων. ὅτε γὰρ ἐπαμύνειν
ἠρχόμην τοῖς ἰδίοις, ἀπολομένων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἁπάντων τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων ἡμῖν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ ἅμα τῇ τε πόλει
χρήσιμον αὑτὸν παρεῖχεν, ἡμᾶς θ᾽ οὕτως ἐπιμελῶς
ἐπαίδευσεν ὥστ᾽ ἐπιφανέστερον εἶναί με τότε καὶ
γνωριμώτερον ἐν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις καὶ συμπαιδευο-
162 μένοις ἢ νῦν ἐν τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις—ὅτε δ᾽

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[a] Contrast the conditions described in *Areop.* 34 ff.

duties. And surely it is deserving of praise when a man is more frugal in what he spends on his own household than in what he pays out for the common weal.

It occurs to me as I am speaking what a change has come over Athens; people nowadays do not look at things in the same way as those who lived in the city in former times. For, when I was a boy, wealth was regarded as a thing so secure as well as admirable that almost every one affected to own more property than he actually possessed, because he wanted to enjoy the standing which it gave.[a] Now, on the other hand, a man has to be ready to defend himself against being rich as if it were the worst of crimes, and to keep on the alert if he is to avoid disaster; for it has become far more dangerous to be suspected of being well off than to be detected in crime; for criminals are pardoned or let off with slight penalties, while the rich are ruined utterly, and it will be found that the number of men who have been spoiled of their property is greater than those who have been punished for their misdeeds.

But why speak of public affairs? For I have myself, in my own affairs, suffered not a little from this change. For when I was beginning to repair my own fortunes after I had lost in the Peloponnesian War the patrimony which remained to me from what my father had spent partly in rendering himself serviceable to the state and partly in educating me with such care that I was more conspicuous then and more distinguished among the youth of my own age and among my fellow-students than I am now among my fellow-citizens[b]—when, as I have said, I began

[b] See General Introd. p. xi.

οὖν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἠρχόμην πλησιάζειν τισίν, ᾠόμην, εἰ δυνηθείην πλείω κτήσασθαι καὶ περιποιήσασθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βίον ὁρμησάντων, ἀμφότερα δόξειν, καὶ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διαφέρειν καὶ κοσμιώτερον βεβιωκέναι τῶν ἄλλων.
163 ἐμοὶ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀποβέβηκεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μήτ' ἄξιος μηδενὸς ἐγενόμην μήτε περιεποιησάμην μηδέν, οὐδεὶς ἄν μοι πράγματα παρεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς ἀδικῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἔζων ἕνεκά γε τῶν συκοφαντῶν· νῦν δ' ἀντὶ τῆς δόξης ἧς προσεδόκων ἀγῶνες περί με καὶ κίνδυνοι καὶ φθόνοι καὶ διαβολαὶ
164 γεγόνασιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῷ παρόντι χαίρει τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς πιέζουσα καὶ ταπεινοὺς ποιοῦσα, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ἐξουσίαν διδοῦσα καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῶσιν, ὥστε Λυσίμαχος μὲν ὁ προῃρημένος ζῆν ἐκ τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ κακῶς ἀεί τινα ποιεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν κατηγορήσων ἡμῶν ἀναβέβηκεν, ἐγὼ δ' ὃς οὐδὲ περὶ ἕνα πότ' ἐξήμαρτον, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐνθένδε λημμάτων ἀπεσχόμην, παρὰ ξένων δὲ καὶ νομιζόντων εὖ πάσχειν ἐπορισάμην τὰς ὠφελίας, ὡς δεινὰ ποιῶν εἰς τηλικουτονὶ καθέστηκα κίνδυνον.
165 καί τοι προσῆκε τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας εὔχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς πλείστοις τῶν πολιτῶν παραγενέσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην, δι' ἣν ἔμελλον παρ' ἑτέρων λαμβάνοντες χρησίμους αὑτούς, ὥσπερ ἐγώ, τῇ πόλει παρέξειν.

Πολλῆς δ' ἀλογίας περί με γεγενημένης πάντων ἂν συμβαίη δεινότατον, εἰ οἱ μὲν δεδωκότες μοι χρήματα τοσαύτην ἔχοιεν χάριν, ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ
166 νῦν με θεραπεύειν, ὑμεῖς δ', εἰς οὓς ἀνήλωκα

to attach pupils to myself, I thought that if I could acquire a greater competence and attain a higher position than others who had started in the same profession, I should be acclaimed both for the superiority of my teaching and for the excellence of my conduct. But the result has been the very opposite; for if I had turned out to be worthless and had excelled in nothing, no one would have made trouble for me;[a] nay, I might have been a flagrant offender and yet lived secure—from the sycophants, at any rate. But now, instead of the acclaim which I expected, I have been rewarded with trials and perils and envy and calumny. For so much does the Athens of this day rejoice in repressing and humiliating honest men, while giving licence to the depraved to say and do what they please, that Lysimachus, a man who has elected to live by practising intrigue and by preying from day to day on his fellow-citizens, is here in court denouncing me; while I, who have never in my life injured any man, who have kept my hands clean from such spoils, and have provided my advantages from foreigners who feel that I have served them well, am charged with grave offences and placed in very great peril by this trial. And yet all sensible men would do well to pray the gods to endow as many of our people as possible with the power of getting means from abroad in order to make themselves serviceable to the city, even as I have done.

But, though there are many anomalies in my situation, it would be the crowning absurdity of all if, when the men who have paid me money are so grateful to me that they are still even now devoted to me, you on whom I have spent my means

[a] See 8, note.

τἀμαυτοῦ, δίκην ἐπιθυμήσαιτε παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν. ἔτι δὲ δεινότερον, εἰ Πίνδαρον μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν γεγονότες ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς μόνον ῥήματος, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἔρεισμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὠνόμασεν, οὕτως ἐτίμησαν ὥστε καὶ πρόξενον ποιήσασθαι καὶ δωρεὰν μυρίας αὐτῷ δοῦναι δραχμάς, ἐμοὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείω καὶ κάλλιον ἐγκεκωμιακότι καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους μηδ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐγγένοιτο ἐπιβιῶναι τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον.

167 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατηγορηθέντων ἱκανὴν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν εἰρημένην ἀπολογίαν· οὐκ ὀκνήσω δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὔθ' ὡς ἔχω νῦν πρὸς τὸν ἐνεστῶτα κίνδυνον κατειπεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔθ' ὡς τὸ πρῶτον διετέθην πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἰδίων πολλὰς ἐλπίδας
168 εἶχον καλῶς ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς βεβιωμένοις καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπίστευον, καὶ πολλοὺς λόγους καὶ δικαίους ᾤμην ἔχειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· ὁρῶν δ' οὐ μόνον δυσκόλως διακειμένους περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων παιδείαν τοὺς εἰθισμένους ἅπασι χαλεπαίνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν πολλοὺς τραχέως πρὸς αὐτὴν διακειμένους, ἐφοβούμην μὴ τὰ μὲν ἴδιά μου παραμεληθῇ, τῆς δὲ κοινῆς τῆς περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς διαβολῆς ἀπολαύσω
169 τι φλαῦρον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ χρόνων ἐγγιγνομένων εἰσέπεσον εἰς τὸ λογίζεσθαι καὶ σκοπεῖν τί

[a] Of Pindar's encomium on Athens there is preserved a fragment (76 (46)):

Ὦ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ ἀοίδιμοι,
Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθᾶναι, δαιμόνιον πτολίεθρον.

"O splendid, violet-crowned, famed in song, glorious Athens, bulwark of Hellas, a wondrous city."

should desire to penalize me. It would be even more absurd if, whereas Pindar, the poet, was so highly honoured by our forefathers because of a single line of his in which he praises Athens as "the bulwark of Hellas"[a] that he was made "proxenos"[b] and given a present of ten thousand drachmas, I, on the other hand, who have glorified Athens and our ancestors with much ampler and nobler encomiums, should not even be privileged to end my days in peace.

With regard, then, to this as well as to the other charges of my accuser, I consider that the defence which I have made is a sufficient answer. Nevertheless, I am not going to hesitate to confide in you the truth as to how I now feel about the pending trial and how I felt about it at the first. I was very confident that for myself personally I could make out a good case; for I relied upon the character of my life and conduct, and believed that I had no lack of arguments to justify them. But as I observed not only the intolerant feeling toward the teaching of eloquence on the part of those who are churlish toward everyone, but the truculent attitude towards it on the part of my fellow-citizens in general, I began to be afraid that the truth regarding me personally might be overlooked and that I might suffer some harm from the common prejudice against the sophists. But as time went on, and I fell to thinking what I should do in the

[b] "Friend of the city," an honorary title conferred upon a foreigner by vote of the General Assembly, making him a sort of informal representative of Athens in his own country, and entitling him to special privileges and courtesies in Athens. See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* pp. 181-182.

χρήσομαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐπαυσάμην τοῦ δέους
καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς ταύτης, οὐκ ἀλόγως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ
170 τῶν εἰκότων λογισάμενος καὶ παραμυθησάμενος
ἐμαυτόν· τούς τε γὰρ ἐπιεικεῖς ὑμῶν, πρὸς οὕς
περ ἐγὼ ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, ἠπιστάμην οὐκ
ἐμμένοντας ταῖς δόξαις ταῖς ἀδίκως ἐγγεγενημέναις,
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπακολουθοῦντας ταῖς ἀληθείαις καὶ μετα-
πειθομένους ὑπὸ τῶν λεγόντων τὰ δίκαια, τήν τε
φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ πολλῶν ἐνόμιζον ἐπιδείξειν ἀδίκως
διαβεβλημένην, καὶ πολὺ ἂν δικαιοτέρως ἀγα-
πωμένην αὐτὴν ἢ μισουμένην. ἔχω δὲ καὶ νῦν
ἔτι ταύτην τὴν γνώμην.

171 Οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ θαυμάζειν εἴ τι τῶν καλῶν ἐπι-
τηδευμάτων ἠγνόηται καὶ διαλέληθεν, οὐδ᾽ εἰ
διεψευσμένοι τινὲς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνουσι· καὶ γὰρ
περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πραγμάτων
ἀναριθμήτων οὕτως ἔχοντες ἂν εὑρεθεῖμεν. ἡ γὰρ
πόλις ἡμῶν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία καὶ νῦν οὖσα
καὶ πρότερον γεγενημένη καὶ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι, καὶ πολλῶν ἡδονῶν γέμουσα,
172 τοῦτ᾽ ἔχει δυσκολώτατον· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνοικούντων οὐκ εὐσύνοπτός ἐστιν
οὐδ᾽ ἀκριβής, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ χειμάρρους, ὅπως ἂν
ἕκαστον ὑπολαβοῦσα τύχῃ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, οὕτω κατήνεγκε, καὶ δόξαν
ἐνίοις τὴν ἐναντίαν τῆς προσηκούσης περιέθηκεν·
ὅπερ καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ ταύτῃ συμβέβηκεν.

173 Ὧν ἐνθυμουμένους χρὴ μηδενὸς πράγματος ἄνευ
λόγου καταγιγνώσκειν, μηδ᾽ ὁμοίως διακεῖσθαι

present circumstances, I ceased being fearful and disturbed on this account, not without good reason, but after having weighed the probabilities and reassured myself. For I knew that the honest men among you—and it is to those that I shall address myself—do not remain fixed in opinions which they have formed unjustly, but are in quest of the truth and are ready to be convinced by those who plead a just cause; and I believed that I should have abundant grounds to show that philosophy has been unjustly slandered, and that it deserves much more to be held in favour than in contempt; and I am still of the same opinion.

However, it is not surprising that liberal pursuits have sometimes failed of recognition and regard, nor that some people have been utterly misled about them. In fact we find that this happens in regard to ourselves as well as to other things without number. For our city, which is now and has been in the past the author of so many blessings both to our own people and to the other Hellenes, and which abounds in so many charms, has, nevertheless, a most serious drawback. For Athens is so large and the multitude of people living here is so great, that the city does not present to the mind an image easily grasped or sharply defined, but, like a turbid flood, whatever it catches up in its course, whether men or things, in each case it sweeps them along pell-mell, and in some cases it imbues them with a reputation which is the opposite of the true; and exactly that has been the fortune of this system of education.

You must bear these things in mind, and not pass judgement in any trial without the exercise of

δικάζοντας ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις διατριβαῖς, ἀλλὰ διακριβοῦσθαι περὶ ἑκάστου καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ζητεῖν, μεμνημένους τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων καθ' οὓς συνεληλύθατε δικάσοντες· ἔστι δ' οὐ περὶ μικρῶν οὔθ' ὁ λόγος οὔθ' ἡ κρίσις ἐν ᾗ καθέσταμεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ μέλλετε μόνον τὴν ψῆφον διοίσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐπιτηδεύματος ᾧ πολλοὶ τῶν νεωτέρων προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν.

174 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παραδιδόασι. τοιαύτης οὖν ἀεὶ τῆς περιόδου γιγνομένης ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ὅπως ἂν οἱ νεώτεροι παιδευθῶσιν, οὕτω τὴν πόλιν πράττουσαν διατελεῖν· ὥστ' οὐ ποιητέον τοὺς συκοφάντας κυρίους τηλικούτου πράγματος, οὐδὲ τοὺς μὲν μὴ διδόντας τούτοις ἀργύριον τιμωρητέον, παρ' ὧν δ' ἂν λάβωσιν ἐατέον ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βουλη-
175 θῶσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἡ φιλοσοφία τοιαύτην ἔχει δύναμιν ὥστε διαφθείρειν τοὺς νεωτέρους, οὐ τοῦτον χρὴ μόνον κολάζειν ὃν ἂν γράψηταί τις τούτων, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ τὴν διατριβὴν ταύτην ὄντας· εἰ δὲ τοὐναντίον πέφυκεν ὥστ' ὠφελεῖν καὶ βελτίους ποιεῖν τοὺς πλησιάζοντας καὶ πλέονος ἀξίους, τοὺς μὲν διαβεβλημένους πρὸς αὐτὴν παυστέον, τοὺς δὲ συκοφαντοῦντας ἀτιμητέον, τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις συμβουλευτέον ἐν ταύτῃ διατρίβειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι.

176 Πρὸ πολλῶν δ' ἂν ἐποιησάμην, εἴπερ ἦν εἱμαρμένον μοι φεύγειν τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην, ἀκμάζοντί

reason, nor be as careless when you sit in judgement as you are in your private occupations, but must examine thoroughly each point and search for the truth, mindful of your oaths and of the laws under which you have come together to dispense justice. It is no minor question which is under discussion and on trial here, but the most important in the world. For you are to determine by your votes, not my fate only, but that of a way of life to which many of our youths are devoting their minds.

I suppose that you are not unaware of the fact that the government of the state is handed on by the older men to the youth of the coming generation; and that since the succession goes on without end, it follows of necessity that as is the education of our youth so from generation to generation will be the fortune of the state. Therefore, you must not let the sycophants have control of a thing so momentous, nor punish those who refuse to pay them money, while permitting those from whom they have received it to do whatever they please. But if philosophy has an influence which tends to corrupt our youth, you ought not merely to punish the occasional offender whom some sycophant hales into court but to banish all who are engaged in teaching it. If, however, it has the opposite effect and helps and improves and makes better men of its devotees, then you should call a halt on those who load this study with abuse; you should strip the sycophants of their rewards, and counsel our young men to occupy themselves with this pursuit above all others.

I would have given a good deal, assuming that I was doomed by fate to defend myself against this

μοι προσπεσεῖν τὸν κίνδυνον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠθύμουν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἷός τ' ἂν ἐγενόμην καὶ τὸν κατήγορον ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ βοηθῆσαι· νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμαι μὴ διὰ ταύτην ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πραγμάτων ἐπιεικῶς εἰρηκώς, περὶ αὐτῆς ταύτης χεῖρον τύχω διαλεχθεὶς ἢ περὶ ὧν ἧττόν μοι
177 σπουδάσαι προσῆκε. καίτοι δεξαίμην ἄν, εἰρήσεται γὰρ τἀληθὲς εἰ καὶ μωρὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, ἤδη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ἀξίως εἰπὼν τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ πείσας ὑμᾶς τοιαύτην νομίζειν τὴν τῶν λόγων μελέτην οἷα πέρ ἐστι, μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν πολυπλασίω χρόνον ἐφορῶν οὕτως αὐτὴν ὥσπερ νῦν παρ' ὑμῖν φερομένην.

178 Τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίας οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ καταδεέστερον ἐροῦμεν· ὅμως δ' ὅπως ἂν δύνωμαι, πειράσομαι διελθεῖν τήν τε φύσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἣν ἔχει, καὶ ποίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν ὁμοιοειδής ἐστι, καὶ τί τοὺς συνόντας ὠφελεῖ, καὶ ποίας τινὰς ποιούμεθα ἡμεῖς τὰς ὑποσχέσεις· οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς μαθόντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἄμεινον καὶ βουλεύσεσθαι
179 καὶ διαγνώσεσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς. ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς, ἢν ἄρα φαίνωμαι λόγους διεξιὼν πολὺ τῶν εἰθισμένων λέγεσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν ἐξηλλαγμένους, μὴ δυσχεραίνειν ἀλλ' ἔχειν συγγνώμην, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τοὺς περὶ πραγμάτων ἀνομοίων τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγωνιζομένους ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοιούτοις χρῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. ὑπομείναντες οὖν τὸν τρόπον τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐάσαντες ἀναλῶσαί με τὸν δεδομένον

[a] So Socrates (Plato, *Apology* 32 D) tones down an assertion which might otherwise have sounded over-heroic.

charge, if I could have faced this trial in the fullness of my vigour ; for in that case I should have felt no misgiving but should have been better able both to protect myself from my accuser and to champion the cause of liberal education. Now, however, I am afraid that, although I have been enabled by this education to speak well enough on other themes, I may find that I have discoursed less ably upon this subject than upon matters which should have concerned me less. And yet I would rather lay down my life this day—for you shall have the truth even though the words be inept[a]—after having spoken adequately upon this theme and persuaded you to look upon the study of eloquence in its true light, than live many times my allotted span and see it continue to fare among you as it now does.

My aspiration, then, is much greater than my power to do the subject justice ; but yet I shall try as best I can to explain what is the nature of this education, what is its power, what of the other arts it is akin to, what benefit it is to its devotees, and what claims I make for it. For I think that when you know the truth about this you will be in a better position to deliberate and pronounce judgement upon it. But I beg of you, if I appear to carry on the discussion in a manner far removed from that which is customary here, not to be impatient but to bear with me,[b] remembering that when a man is defending himself on a charge unlike any other, he must resort to a kind of pleading which is out of the ordinary. Be patient, therefore, with the manner of my discourse and with my frankness of speech ; permit me to use up the time allotted to my defence ;

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 17 B ff.

ταῖς ἀπολογίαις, ὅπως ἂν ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ δοκῇ
δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ νόμιμον, οὕτω φέρετε τὴν ψῆφον.
180 Βούλομαι δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων παιδείας ὥσπερ
οἱ γενεαλογοῦντες πρῶτον διελθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν ἔκ τε τοῦ
σώματος συγκεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, αὐτοῖν δὲ
τούτοιν οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν φήσειεν ἡγε-
μονικωτέραν πεφυκέναι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ πλέονος
ἀξίαν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἔργον εἶναι βουλεύσασθαι καὶ
περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, τοῦ δὲ
σώματος ὑπηρετῆσαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς γνω-
181 σθεῖσιν. οὕτω δὲ τούτων ἐχόντων ὁρῶντές τινες
τῶν πολὺ πρὸ ἡμῶν γεγονότων περὶ μὲν τῶν
ἄλλων πολλὰς τέχνας συνεστηκυίας, περὶ δὲ τὸ
σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον συντεταγ-
μένον, εὑρόντες διττὰς ἐπιμελείας κατέλιπον ἡμῖν,
περὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα τὴν παιδοτριβικήν, ἧς ἡ
γυμναστικὴ μέρος ἐστί, περὶ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τὴν
φιλοσοφίαν, περὶ ἧς ἐγὼ μέλλω ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς
182 λόγους, ἀντιστρόφους καὶ σύζυγας καὶ σφίσιν
αὑταῖς ὁμολογουμένας, δι᾿ ὧν οἱ προεστῶτες
αὐτῶν τάς τε ψυχὰς φρονιμωτέρας καὶ τὰ σώματα
χρησιμώτερα παρασκευάζουσιν, οὐ πολὺ διαστησά-
μενοι τὰς παιδείας ἀπ᾿ ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ παρα-
πλησίαις χρώμενοι καὶ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις καὶ ταῖς
γυμνασίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιμελείαις.
183 Ἐπειδὰν γὰρ λάβωσι μαθητάς, οἱ μὲν παιδο-
τρίβαι τὰ σχήματα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀγωνίαν εὑρημένα
τοὺς φοιτῶντας διδάσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν
φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες τὰς ἰδέας ἁπάσας, αἷς ὁ λόγος
184 τυγχάνει χρώμενος, διεξέρχονται τοῖς μαθηταῖς.
ἐμπείρους δὲ τούτων ποιήσαντες καὶ διακριβώ-

and then cast your ballots as each of you thinks is right and in accordance with the law.

In my treatment of the art of discourse, I desire, like the genealogists, to start at the beginning.[a] It is acknowledged that the nature of man is compounded of two parts, the physical and the mental, and no one would deny that of these two the mind comes first and is of greater worth; for it is the function of the mind to decide both on personal and on public questions, and of the body to be servant to the judgements of the mind. Since this is so, certain of our ancestors, long before our time, seeing that many arts had been devised for other things, while none had been prescribed for the body and for the mind, invented and bequeathed to us two disciplines, physical training for the body, of which gymnastics is a part, and, for the mind, philosophy, which I am going to explain. These are twin arts—parallel and complementary—by which their masters prepare the mind to become more intelligent and the body to become more serviceable, not separating sharply the two kinds of education, but using similar methods of instruction, exercise, and other forms of discipline.

For when they take their pupils in hand, the physical trainers instruct their followers in the postures which have been devised for bodily contests, while the teachers of philosophy impart all the forms of discourse in which the mind expresses itself. Then, when they have made them familiar and thoroughly

[a] Literally, I desire first to discuss the art of discourse after the manner of the genealogists.

σαντες ἐν τούτοις πάλιν γυμνάζουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ πονεῖν ἐθίζουσι, καὶ συνείρειν καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ὧν ἔμαθον ἀναγκάζουσιν, ἵνα ταῦτα βεβαιότερον κατάσχωσι καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ἐγγυτέρω ταῖς δόξαις γένωνται. τῷ μὲν γὰρ εἰδέναι περιλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐχ οἷόντ' ἐστίν· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν πραγμάτων διαφεύγουσι τὰς ἐπιστήμας, οἱ δὲ μάλιστα προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν καὶ δυνάμενοι θεωρεῖν τὸ συμβαῖνον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πλειστάκις αὐτῶν τυγχάνουσι.

185 Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιμελόμενοι καὶ παιδεύοντες μέχρι μὲν τοῦ γενέσθαι βελτίους αὐτοὺς αὑτῶν τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ ἔχειν ἄμεινον, τοὺς μὲν τὰς διανοίας τοὺς δὲ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ἕξεις, ἀμφότεροι δύνανται προαγαγεῖν· ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην οὐδέτεροι τυγχάνουσιν ἔχοντες, δι' ἧς ἂν οἱ μὲν ἀθλητὰς οὓς βουληθεῖεν, οἱ δὲ ῥήτορας ἱκανοὺς ποιήσαιεν, ἀλλὰ μέρος μὲν ἄν τι συμβάλοιντο, τὸ δ' ὅλον αἱ δυνάμεις αὗται παραγίγνονται τοῖς καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις διενεγκοῦσιν.

186 Ὁ μὲν οὖν τύπος τῆς φιλοσοφίας τοιοῦτός τίς ἐστιν· ἡγοῦμαι δ' ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἂν ἔτι καταμαθεῖν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, εἰ διέλθοιμι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ποιούμεθα πρὸς τοὺς πλησιάζειν ἡμῖν βουλομένους.
187 λέγομεν γὰρ ὡς δεῖ τοὺς μέλλοντας διοίσειν ἢ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἢ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας

[a] The distinction usually drawn, in Plato for instance, between δόξα and ἐπιστήμη, the one "opinion," the other "knowledge," is not exactly that made by Isocrates. δόξα is here, not irresponsible opinion, but a working theory based on practical experience—judgement or insight in dealing with the uncertain contingencies of any human

conversant with these lessons, they set them at exercises, habituate them to work, and require them to combine in practice the particular things which they have learned, in order that they may grasp them more firmly and bring their theories into closer touch with the occasions for applying them —I say "theories," for no system of knowledge can possibly cover these occasions, since in all cases they elude our science.[a] Yet those who most apply their minds to them and are able to discern the consequences which for the most part grow out of them, will most often meet these occasions in the right way.

Watching over them and training them in this manner, both the teachers of gymnastic and the teachers of discourse are able to advance their pupils to a point where they are better men and where they are stronger in their thinking or in the use of their bodies. However, neither class of teachers is in possession of a science by which they can make capable athletes or capable orators out of whomsoever they please. They can contribute in some degree to these results, but these powers are never found in their perfection save in those who excel by virtue both of talent and of training.[b]

I have given you now some impression of what philosophy is. But I think that you will get a still clearer idea of its powers if I tell you what professions I make to those who want to become my pupils. I say to them that if they are to excel in oratory or in managing affairs or in any line of work,

situation which presents itself. In this realm, he holds, there can be no exact science. *Cf.* 271 ; *Against the Sophists* 1-3. See General Introd. pp. xxii, xxvii.

[b] For Isocrates' view as to the elements which produce the successful orator see General Introd. p. xxiv.

ἐργασίας πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο πεφυκέναι καλῶς, πρὸς ὃ ἂν προῃρημένοι τυγχάνωσιν, ἔπειτα παιδευθῆναι καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἥτις ἂν ᾖ περὶ ἑκάστου, τρίτον ἐντριβεῖς γενέσθαι καὶ γυμνασθῆναι περὶ τὴν χρείαν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς ἐργασίαις τελείους γίγνεσθαι καὶ πολὺ διαφέροντας τῶν ἄλλων.

188 εἶναι δὲ τούτων προσῆκον ἑκατέροις, τοῖς τε διδάσκουσι καὶ τοῖς μανθάνουσιν, ἴδιον μὲν τοῖς μὲν εἰσενέγκασθαι τὴν φύσιν οἵαν δεῖ, τοῖς δὲ δύνασθαι παιδεῦσαι τοὺς τοιούτους, κοινὸν δ' ἀμφοτέρων τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν γυμνάσιον· δεῖν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιστατῆσαι τοῖς παιδευομένοις, τοὺς δ' ἐγκρατῶς ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς προσταττομένοις.

189 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἃ κατὰ πασῶν λέγομεν τῶν τεχνῶν· εἰ δὲ δή τις ἀφέμενος τῶν ἄλλων ἔροιτό με τί τούτων μεγίστην ἔχει δύναμιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν λόγων παιδείαν, ἀποκριναίμην ἂν ὅτι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀνυπέρβλητόν ἐστι καὶ πολὺ πάντων διαφέρει· τὸν γὰρ ἔχοντα τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν εὑρεῖν καὶ μαθεῖν καὶ πονῆσαι καὶ μνημονεῦσαι δυναμένην, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ στόματος σαφήνειαν τοιαύτην ὥστε μὴ μόνοις τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς τούτων εὐαρμοστίαις συμπείθειν
190 τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν τόλμαν μὴ τὴν ἀναισχυντίας σημεῖον γιγνομένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετὰ σωφροσύνης οὕτω παρασκευάζουσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ὥστε μηδὲν ἧττον θαρρεῖν ἐν δὴ πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον ἢ πρὸς αὑτὸν διανοούμενον, τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τυχὼν ὁ τοιοῦτος παιδείας μὴ

they must, first of all, have a natural aptitude for that which they have elected to do; secondly, they must submit to training and master the knowledge of their particular subject, whatever it may be in each case; and, finally, they must become versed and practised in the use and application of their art; for only on these conditions can they become fully competent and pre-eminent in any line of endeavour. In this process, master and pupil each has his place; no one but the pupil can furnish the necessary capacity; no one but the master, the ability to impart knowledge; while both have a part in the exercises of practical application: for the master must painstakingly direct his pupil, and the latter must rigidly follow the master's instructions.

Now these observations apply to any and all the arts. If anyone, ignoring the other arts, were to ask me which of these factors has the greatest power in the education of an orator I should answer that natural ability is paramount and comes before all else. For given a man with a mind which is capable of finding out and learning the truth and of working hard and remembering what it learns, and also with a voice and a clarity of utterance which are able to captivate the audience, not only by what he says, but by the music of his words, and, finally, with an assurance [a] which is not an expression of bravado, but which, tempered by sobriety, so fortifies the spirit that he is no less at ease in addressing all his fellow-citizens than in reflecting to himself—who does not know that such a man might, without the advantage of an elaborate education and with only

[a] Isocrates here mentions qualifications which he himself lacked, voice and assurance. See *Phil.* 81; *Panath.* 10.

τῆς ἀπηκριβωμένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐπιπολαίου καὶ πᾶσι κοινῆς, τοιοῦτος ἂν εἴη ῥήτωρ οἷος οὐκ οἶδ'
191 εἴ τις τῶν Ἑλλήνων γέγονεν; καὶ μὲν δὴ κἀκείνους ἴσμεν, τοὺς καταδεεστέραν μὲν τούτων τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντας, ταῖς δ' ἐμπειρίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις προέχοντας, ὅτι γίγνονται κρείττους οὐ μόνον αὑτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εὖ μὲν πεφυκότων λίαν δ' αὑτῶν κατημεληκότων· ὥσθ' ἑκάτερόν τε τούτων δεινὸν ἂν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ποιήσειεν, ἀμφότερά τε γενόμενα περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνυπέρβλητον ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποτελέσειεν.

192 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ταῦτα γιγνώσκω· περὶ δὲ τῆς παιδείας οὐκ ἔχω τοιοῦτον λόγον εἰπεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ὁμοίαν οὔτε παραπλησίαν ἔχει τούτοις τὴν δύναμιν. εἰ γάρ τις διακούσειεν ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ διακριβωθείη μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, λόγων μὲν ποιητὴς τυχὸν ἂν χαριέστερος γένοιτο τῶν πολλῶν, εἰς ὄχλον δὲ καταστάς, τούτου μόνον ἀποστερηθείς, τοῦ τολμᾶν, οὐδ' ἂν φθέγξασθαι δυνηθείη.

193 Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με πρὸς μὲν ὑμᾶς συστέλλειν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαλέγωμαι πρὸς τοὺς συνεῖναί μοι βουλομένους, ἅπασαν ὑπ' ἐμαυτῷ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν· φεύγων γὰρ τὰς τοιαύτας αἰτίας, ὅτ' ἠρχόμην περὶ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πραγματείαν, λόγον διέδωκα γράψας ἐν ᾧ φανήσομαι τοῖς τε μείζους ποιουμένοις τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπι-
194 τιμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος. ἃ μὲν οὖν κατηγορῶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλείψω· καὶ γάρ ἐστι πλείω τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ παρόντος· ἃ δ' αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνομαι, πειράσομαι διελθεῖν ὑμῖν. ἄρχομαι δ' ἐνθένδε ποθέν.

a superficial and common training, be an orator such as has never, perhaps, been seen among the Hellenes? Again, we know that men who are less generously endowed by nature but excel in experience and practice, not only improve upon themselves, but surpass others who, though highly gifted, have been too negligent of their talents. It follows, therefore, that either one of these factors may produce an able speaker or an able man of affairs, but both of them combined in the same person might produce a man incomparable among his fellows.

These, then, are my views as to the relative importance of native ability and practice. I cannot, however, make a like claim for education; its powers are not equal nor comparable to theirs. For if one should take lessons in all the principles of oratory and master them with the greatest thoroughness, he might, perhaps, become a more pleasing speaker than most, but let him stand up before the crowd and lack one thing only, namely, assurance, and he would not be able to utter a word.

But let no one of you think that before you I belittle my pretensions, while when I address those who desire to become my pupils I claim every power for my teaching; for it was to avoid just such a charge as this that, when I entered upon my profession, I wrote and published a discourse in which you will find that I attack those who make pretensions which are unwarranted, and set forth my own ideas. Now I am not going to quote from it my criticisms of others; for they are too long for the present occasion; but I shall attempt to repeat to you that part in which I express my own views. I begin at this point.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

§ 14–§ 18

195 Ταῦτα κομψοτέρως μὲν πέφρασται τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων, βούλεται δὲ ταὐτὰ δηλοῦν ἐκείνοις. ὃ χρὴ μέγιστον ὑμῖν γενέσθαι τεκμήριον τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιεικείας· οὐ γάρ, ὅτε μὲν ἦν νεώτερος, ἀλαζονευόμενος φαίνομαι καὶ μεγάλας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ποιούμενος, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀπολέλαυκα τοῦ πράγματος καὶ πρεσβύτερος γέγονα, τηνικαῦτα ταπεινὴν ποιῶν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς λόγοις χρώμενος ἀκμάζων καὶ παυόμενος αὐτῆς, καὶ θαρρῶν καὶ κινδυνεύων, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους πλησιάζειν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας περί μου τὴν ψῆφον οἴσειν, ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἄν τις ἀληθέστερος ἢ δικαιότερος περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιδειχθείη γεγενημένος.

196 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκείνοις προσκείσθω τοῖς πρότερον περὶ ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις· οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι τοὺς
δυσκόλως διακειμένους οὐδέν πω τῶν εἰρημένων
ἱκανόν ἐστιν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς διανοίας ταύτης, ἀλλὰ
πολλῶν ἔτι δέονται λόγων καὶ παντοδαπῶν, εἰ
μέλλουσιν ἑτέραν μεταλήψεσθαι δόξαν ἀνθ' ἧς
197 νῦν τυγχάνουσιν ἔχοντες. δεῖ δὴ μηδ' ἡμᾶς προ-
απειπεῖν διδάσκοντας καὶ λέγοντας, ἐξ ὧν, δυοῖν
θάτερον, ἢ μεταστήσομεν τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν, ἢ
τὰς βλασφημίας καὶ κατηγορίας αἷς χρῶνται καθ'
ἡμῶν ἐξελέγξομεν ψευδεῖς οὔσας.

Εἰσὶ δὲ διτταί. λέγουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἔστιν ἡ περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς διατριβὴ φλυαρία καὶ φενακισμός· οὐδεμία γὰρ εὕρηται παιδεία τοιαύτη δι'

[a] The earlier compositions are more finished as to rhythm and musical quality. See *Phil.* 27.

[Extract from *Against the Sophists* 14-18. See this Vol. pp. 170-175.]

Now this quotation is of a more finished style [a] than what has been said before, but its meaning is the same, and this ought to be taken by you as a convincing proof of my honesty; for you see that I did not brag and make big promises when I was young only to speak modestly for my philosophy now that I have reaped the harvest of my labours and am an old man, but that, on the contrary, I speak in the same terms both when I was at the height of my career and now when I am ready to retire from it, both when I had no thought of danger and now when I stand in jeopardy, and both in addressing those who wanted to become my pupils and now in addressing those who are to vote upon my fate. I do not see, therefore, how the sincerity and honesty of my professions could be more clearly shown.

Let this quotation, then, add its weight to what I have said before. I do not, however, delude myself as to the people who are ill disposed towards my teaching: nothing of what I have said so far is enough to disabuse them of this feeling; and it will take many arguments of all sorts to convert them to a different opinion from that which they now hold. Accordingly I must not leave off expounding and speaking until I shall accomplish one of two things—until I have persuaded them to change their views or have proved that the slanders and charges which they repeat against me are false.

These charges are of two kinds. Some of them say that the profession of the sophist is nothing but sham and chicane, maintaining that no kind of

ἧς γένοιτό τις ἂν ἢ περὶ τοὺς λόγους δεινότερος
ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις φρονιμώτερος, ἀλλ' οἱ προ-
έχοντες ἐν τούτοις τῇ φύσει τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρουσιν·
198 οἱ δὲ δεινοτέρους μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι τοὺς περὶ
τὴν μελέτην ταύτην ὄντας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ δια-
φθείρεσθαι καὶ γίγνεσθαι χείρους· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ
λάβωσι δύναμιν, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύειν.
Ὡς οὖν οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδ' ἀληθὲς οὐδέτεροι
τούτων λέγουσι, πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω πᾶσι φανερὸν
199 ποιήσειν. πρῶτον δ' ἐνθυμήθητε περὶ τῶν φλυα-
ρίαν φασκόντων εἶναι τὴν παιδείαν, ὡς αὐτοὶ
λίαν καταφανῶς ληροῦσι. διασύρουσι μὲν γὰρ
αὐτὴν ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖν δυναμένην ἀλλ' ἀπάτην
καὶ φενακισμὸν οὖσαν, ἀξιοῦσι δὲ τοὺς συνόντας
ἡμῖν εὐθὺς μὲν προσελθόντας διαφέρειν αὐτοὺς
200 αὑτῶν, ὀλίγας δ' ἡμέρας συνδιατρίψαντας σοφω-
τέρους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ κρείττους φαίνεσθαι
τῶν καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις προ-
εχόντων, ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ μόνον παραμείναντας ῥήτορας
ἅπαντας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ τελέους καὶ μηδὲν
φαυλοτέρους τοὺς ἀμελεῖς τῶν πονεῖν ἐθελόντων
μηδὲ τοὺς ἀφυεῖς τῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνδρικὰς ἐχόντων.
201 καὶ ταῦτα προστάττουσιν οὔθ' ἡμῶν ἀκηκοότες
τοιαύτας ποιουμένων τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς
ἄλλαις τέχναις καὶ παιδείαις οὐδὲν ἑωρακότες
τούτων συμβαῖνον, ἀλλὰ μόλις μὲν ἡμῖν τὰς
ἐπιστήμας παραγιγνομένας, οὐχ ὁμοίως δ' ἀλλή-
λοις ὅ τι ἂν μάθωμεν ἐξεργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ δύο
μὲν ἢ τρεῖς ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν διδασκαλείων ἀγω-

education has ever been discovered which can improve a man's ability to speak or his capacity for handling affairs, and that those who excel in these respects owe their superiority to natural gifts; while others acknowledge that men who take this training are more able, but complain that they are corrupted and demoralized by it, alleging that when they gain the power to do so, they scheme to get other people's property.

Now there is not a sound or true word in either complaint, as I am very confident that I can prove to everyone. First of all I would have you note, in the case of those who assert that education is a sham, that they quite obviously talk rubbish themselves; for while they ridicule it as powerless to help us—nothing but humbug and chicane—at the same time they demand that my pupils show improvement from the moment they come to me; that when they have been with me a few days, they must be abler and wiser in speech than those who have the advantage over them both in years and in experience; and that when they have been with me no more than a year, they must all be good and finished orators; nor must the indolent be a whit less accomplished than the industrious, nor they who are lacking in ability than those who are blessed with vigorous minds. These are the requirements they set up, and yet they have never heard me make such promises, nor have they ever seen like results in the other arts and disciplines. On the contrary, all knowledge yields itself up to us only after great effort on our part, and we are by no means all equally capable of working out in practice what we learn. Nay, from all our schools only two or three students

νιστὰς γιγνομένους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδιώτας ἀπαλλαττομένους.

202 Καί τοι πῶς οὐκ ἄφρονας εἶναι χρὴ νομίζειν τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογουμέναις τῶν τεχνῶν οὐκ ἐνούσας, ταύτας ἀπαιτεῖν τολμῶντας παρὰ ταύτης ἣν οὐκ εἶναί φασι, καὶ πλείους τὰς ὠφελείας ἀξιοῦντας γίγνεσθαι παρὰ τῆς ἀπιστουμένης ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἀκριβῶς εὑρῆσθαι
203 δοκουσῶν; χρὴ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας οὐκ ἀνωμάλως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πραγμάτων, οὐδ' ἀποδοκιμάζειν τὴν παιδείαν τὴν ταὐτὰ ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν τεχνῶν ἀπεργαζομένην. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὑμῶν πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς σοφισταῖς γενομένων οὐ φενακισθέντας οὐδ' οὕτω
204 διατεθέντας ὡς οὗτοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἱκανοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἀποτελεσθέντας, τοὺς δὲ παιδεύειν ἑτέρους δυνηθέντας, ὅσοι δ' αὐτῶν ἰδιωτεύειν ἐβουλήθησαν, ἔν τε ταῖς ὁμιλίαις χαριεστέρους ὄντας ἢ πρότερον ἦσαν, τῶν τε λόγων κριτὰς καὶ συμβούλους ἀκριβεστέρους τῶν πλείστων γεγενημένους; ὥστε πῶς χρὴ τῆς τοιαύτης διατριβῆς καταφρονεῖν, τῆς τοὺς κεχρημένους αὐτῇ τοιούτους παρασκευάζειν δυναμένης;

205 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόδε πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιεν, ὅτι τούτους τεχνικωτάτους εἶναι νομίζομεν ἐπὶ πασῶν τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ χειρουργιῶν, οἵτινες ἂν τοὺς μαθητὰς ὡς οἷόνθ' ὁμοιοτάτους ἐργάτας ἀλλήλοις ἀποδείξωσι. τῇ τοίνυν φιλοσοφίᾳ φανή-
206 σεται καὶ τοῦτο συμβεβηκός. ὅσοι γὰρ ἡγεμόνος ἔτυχον ἀληθινοῦ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος, εὑρεθεῖεν ἂν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οὕτως ὁμοίαν τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντες ὥστε πᾶσιν εἶναι φανερὸν ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς παιδείας

turn out to be real champions,[a] the rest retiring from their studies into private life.[b]

And yet how can we fail to deny intelligence to those who have the effrontery to demand powers which are not found in the recognized arts of this which they declare is not an art and who expect greater advantages to come from an art in which they do not believe than from arts which they regard as thoroughly perfected? Men of intelligence ought not to form contrary judgements about similar things[c] nor refuse to recognize a discipline which accomplishes the same results as most of the arts. For who among you does not know that most of those who have sat under the sophists have not been duped nor affected as these men claim, but that some of them have been turned out competent champions and others able teachers; while those who have preferred to live in private have become more gracious in their social intercourse[d] than before, and keener judges and more prudent counsellors than the great majority? How then is it possible to scorn a discipline which is able to make of those who have taken advantage of it men of that kind?

Furthermore, this also will be agreed to by all men, namely, that in all the arts and crafts we regard those as the most skilled who turn out pupils who all work as far as possible in the same manner. Now it will be seen that this is the case with philosophy. For all who have been under a true and intelligent guide will be found to have a power of speech so similar that it is evident to everyone that

[a] That is, champions in the contests of oratory.

[b] As distinguished from the professional life of public orators and teachers of oratory. *Cf.* 204.

[c] *Cf.* 253; *Peace* 114. [d] See General Introd. p. xxvi.

μετεσχήκασι. καί τοι μηδενὸς ἔθους αὐτοῖς ἐγγενομένου κοινοῦ μηδὲ διατριβῆς τεχνικῆς ὑπαρξάσης οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὴν ὁμοιότητα ταύτην κατέστησαν.

207 Ἔτι τοίνυν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι πολλοὺς τῶν συμπαιδευθέντων, οἳ παῖδες μὲν ὄντες ἀμαθέστατοι τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἔδοξαν εἶναι, πρεσβύτεροι δὲ γενόμενοι πλέον διήνεγκαν πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ὧν παῖδες ὄντες ἀπελείφθησαν. ὅθεν μάλιστ' ἄν τις γνοίη τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὅσην ἔχει δύναμιν· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τότε μὲν ἅπαντες τοιαύταις ἐχρῶντο ταῖς διανοίαις οἵας περ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔφυσαν ἔχοντες, ἄνδρες δὲ γενόμενοι τούτων διήνεγκαν καὶ μετήλλαξαν τὴν φρόνησιν τῷ τοὺς μὲν ἐκκεχυμένως ζῆν καὶ ῥᾳθύμως, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς τε πράγμασι καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν.
208 ὅπου δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείας γίγνονταί τινες βελτίους, πῶς οὐκ ἂν οὗτοι λαβόντες ἐπιστάτην καὶ πρεσβύτερον καὶ πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἔμπειρον, καὶ τὰ μὲν παρειληφότα τὰ δ' αὐτὸν εὑρηκότα, πολὺ ἂν ἔτι πλέον καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διήνεγκαν;

209 Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ τούτων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰκότως ἂν ἅπαντες τὴν ἄγνοιαν θαυμάσειαν τῶν τολμώντων οὕτως εἰκῇ καταφρονεῖν τῆς φιλοσοφίας· πρῶτον μὲν εἰ πάσας τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς τέχνας εἰδότες ταῖς μελέταις καὶ ταῖς φιλοπονίαις ἁλισκομένας πρὸς τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως ἄσκησιν
210 ταῦτα μηδεμίαν ἡγοῦνται δύναμιν ἔχειν, ἔπειτ' εἰ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων μηδὲν οὕτως ἂν φήσαιεν εἶναι φαῦλον, ὅ τι γυμνασθὲν καὶ πονῆσαν οὐκ

they have shared the same training. And yet, had not a common habit and a common technique of training been instilled into them, it is inconceivable that they should have taken on this likeness.

Again, every one of you could name many of your schoolfellows who when they were boys seemed to be the dullest among their companions, but who, growing older, outstripped them farther in intelligence and in speech than they had lagged behind them when they were boys. From this fact you can best judge what training can do; for it is evident that when they were young they all possessed such mental powers as they were born with, but as they grew to be men, these outstripped the others and changed places with them in intelligence, because their companions lived dissolutely and softly, while they gave heed to their own opportunities and to their own welfare. But when people succeed in making progress through their own diligence alone, how can they fail to improve in a much greater degree both over themselves and over others if they put themselves under a master who is mature, of great experience, and learned not only in what has been handed down to him but in what he has discovered for himself?

But there remain still other reasons why everyone may well be astonished at the ignorance in men who venture so blindly to condemn philosophy. For, in the first place, they know that pains and industry give proficiency in all other activities and arts, yet deny that they have any such power in the training of the intellect; secondly, they admit that no physical weakness is so hopeless that it cannot be improved

ἂν εἴη βέλτιον, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς τὰς ἄμεινον πε-
φυκυίας τῶν σωμάτων μηδὲν ἂν νομίζουσι γενέσθαι
σπουδαιοτέρας παιδευθείσας καὶ τυχούσας τῆς
211 προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας· ἔτι δ' εἰ περὶ τοὺς
ἵππους καὶ τοὺς κύνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ζώων
ὁρῶντες τέχνας ἔχοντάς τινας, αἷς τὰ μὲν ἀν-
δρειότερα τὰ δὲ πραότερα τὰ δὲ φρονιμώτερα
ποιοῦσι, περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν μηδεμίαν
οἴονται τοιαύτην εὑρῆσθαι παιδείαν, ἥ τις ἂν
αὐτοὺς ἐπί τι τούτων ὧν περ καὶ τὰ θηρία δυνηθείη
212 προαγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην ἁπάντων ἡμῶν ἀτυχίαν
κατεγνώκασιν, ὥσθ' ὁμολογήσειαν μὲν ἂν ταῖς
ἡμετέραις διανοίαις ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων βέλτιον
γίγνεσθαι καὶ χρησιμώτερον, αὐτοὺς δ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς
ἔχοντας τὴν φρόνησιν ταύτην, ᾗ πάντα πλέονος
ἄξια ποιοῦμεν, τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν
213 ἀλλήλους πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν εὐεργετήσαιμεν. ὃ δὲ
πάντων δεινότατον, ὅτι καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
θεωροῦντες ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι τοὺς μὲν λέοντας
πραότερον διακειμένους πρὸς τοὺς θεραπεύοντας
ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔνιοι πρὸς τοὺς εὖ ποιοῦντας,
τὰς δ' ἄρκτους καλινδουμένας καὶ παλαιούσας
214 καὶ μιμουμένας τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐπιστήμας, οὐδ'
ἐκ τούτων δύνανται γνῶναι τὴν παιδείαν καὶ
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὅσην ἔχει δύναμιν, οὐδ' ὅτι ταῦτα
πολὺ ἂν θᾶττον τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ἢ τὴν ἐκείνων
ὠφελήσειεν· ὥστ' ἀπορῶ πότερον ἄν τις δικαιό-
τερον θαυμάσειε τὰς πραότητας τὰς τοῖς χαλεπω-
τάτοις τῶν θηρίων ἐγγιγνομένας ἢ τὰς ἀγριότητας
τὰς ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων
ἐνούσας.

215 Ἔχοι δ' ἄν τις πλείω περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν· ἀλλὰ

by exercise and effort, but they do not believe that our minds, which are naturally superior to our bodies, can be made more serviceable through education and suitable training; again, they observe that some people possess the art of training horses and dogs and most other animals by which they make them more spirited, gentle or intelligent, as the case may be, yet they do not think that any education has been discovered for training human nature, such as can improve men in any of those respects in which we improve the beasts. Nay, so great is the misfortune which they impute to us all, that while they would acknowledge that it is by our mental powers that every creature is improved and made more useful, yet they have the hardihood to claim that we ourselves, who are endowed with an intelligence through which we render all creatures of greater worth, cannot help each other to advance in excellence.[a] But most absurd of all, they behold in the shows which are held year after year lions which are more gentle toward their trainers than some people are toward their benefactors, and bears which dance about and wrestle and imitate our skill, and yet they are not able to judge even from these instances the power which education and training have, nor can they see that human nature will respond more promptly than the animals to the benefits of education. In truth, I cannot make up my mind which should astonish us the more—the gentleness which is implanted in the fiercest of wild beasts or the brutishness which resides in the souls of such men.

One might say more upon this head, but if I say

[a] See *To Nicocles* 12 and note, Vol. I. p. 47.

γὰρ ἣν πολλὰ λίαν λέγω περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ὁμολογουμένων, δέδοικα μὴ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἀπορεῖν δόξω. παυσάμενος οὖν τούτων ἐπ' ἐκείνους τρέψομαι, τοὺς οὐ καταφρονοῦντας μὲν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, πολὺ δὲ πικρότερον κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῆς, καὶ μεταφέροντας τὰς πονηρίας τὰς τῶν φασκόντων μὲν εἶναι σοφιστῶν ἄλλο δέ τι πραττόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν
216 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεύοντας. ἐγὼ δ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων τῶν προσποιουμένων δύνασθαι παιδεύειν ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίως τὴν δόξαν ταύτην ἐχόντων. οἶμαι δὲ σαφῶς ἐπιδείξειν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας ἡμῶν πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διημαρτηκότας, ἤν περ ἐθελήσητε διὰ τέλους ἀκοῦσαι τῶν λεγομένων.

217 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὁρίσασθαι δεῖ τίνων ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τίνος τυχεῖν βουλόμενοι τολμῶσί τινες ἀδικεῖν· ἢν γὰρ ταῦτα καλῶς περιλάβωμεν, ἄμεινον γνώσεσθε τὰς αἰτίας τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν λεγομένας, εἴτ' ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν εἴτε ψευδεῖς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἡδονῆς ἢ κέρδους ἢ τιμῆς ἕνεκα φημὶ πάντας πάντα πράττειν· ἔξω γὰρ τούτων οὐδεμίαν ἐπι-
218 θυμίαν ὁρῶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγγιγνομένην. εἰ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, λοιπόν ἐστι σκέψασθαι τί τούτων ἂν ἡμῖν γίγνοιτο διαφθείρουσι τοὺς νεωτέρους.

Πότερ' ἂν ἡσθείημεν ὁρῶντες ἢ καὶ πυνθανόμενοι πονηροὺς αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ δοκοῦντας τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις; καὶ τίς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀναίσθητος ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειε τοιαύτης διαβολῆς
219 περὶ αὑτὸν γιγνομένης; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν θαυμασθεῖμεν οὐδὲ τιμῆς μεγάλης τύχοιμεν τοιούτους

too much on questions about which most men are agreed, I fear you may suspect that I have little to say on questions which are in dispute. Therefore I shall leave this subject and turn my attention to a class of people who do not, to be sure, contemn philosophy but condemn it much more bitterly since they attribute the iniquities of those who profess to be sophists,[a] but in practice are far different, to those whose ways have nothing in common with them. But I am speaking, not in behalf of all those who pretend to be able to educate the young, but in behalf of those only who have justly earned this reputation, and I think that I shall convince you that my accusers have shot very wide of the truth if only you are willing to hear me to the end.

In the first place, then, we must determine what are the objects which make people venture to do evil; for if we define these correctly, you will be better able to make up your minds whether the charges which have been made against us are true or false. Well then, I maintain that everyone does everything which he does for the sake of pleasure or gain or honour; for I observe that no desire springs up in men save for these objects. If this be so, it only remains to consider which of these objects we should attain by corrupting the young.

Do you suppose it would give us pleasure to see or hear that our pupils were bad and in evil repute with their fellow-citizens? And who is so insensate that he would not be distressed to have such things reported about himself? But surely we could not expect to be admired nor to enjoy great honour for

[a] That is, teachers of wisdom. He means so-called sophists, such as teachers of forensic skill, who bring all sophists into disrepute.

τοὺς συνόντας ἀποπέμποντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἂν
μᾶλλον καταφρονηθεῖμεν καὶ μισηθεῖμεν τῶν ταῖς
ἄλλαις πονηρίαις ἐνόχων ὄντων. καὶ μὴν οὐδ'
εἰ ταῦτα παρίδοιμεν, χρήματα πλεῖστ' ἂν λάβοιμεν
220 οὕτω παιδείας προεστῶτες. οἶμαι γὰρ δήπου
τοῦτό γε πάντας γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι σοφιστῇ μισθὸς
κάλλιστός ἐστι καὶ μέγιστος, ἢν τῶν μαθητῶν
τινες καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ καὶ φρόνιμοι γένωνται καὶ
παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμοῦντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ
τοιοῦτοι πολλοὺς μετασχεῖν τῆς παιδείας εἰς
ἐπιθυμίαν καθιστᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ καὶ τοὺς
πρότερον συνεῖναι διανοουμένους ἀποτρέπουσιν.
ὥστε τίς ἂν ἐν τούτοις τὸ κρεῖττον ἀγνοήσειεν,
οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων
ἐχόντων;

221 Ἴσως οὖν ἄν τις πρὸς ταῦτα τολμήσειεν εἰπεῖν
ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὰς ἀκρασίας οὐκ
ἐμμένουσι τοῖς λογισμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ
συμφέροντος ἐπὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ὁρμῶσιν. ἐγὼ δ'
ὁμολογῶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν προσ-
ποιουμένων εἶναι σοφιστῶν ἔχειν τινὰς τὴν
222 φύσιν ταύτην, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων
οὐδείς ἐστιν οὕτως ἀκρατὴς ὅστις ἂν δέξαιτο καὶ
τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶναι τοιούτους· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῶν
τῶν διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ἐκείνοις συμβαινουσῶν οὐκ
ἂν δύναιτο μετασχεῖν, τῆς δὲ δόξης τῆς διὰ τὴν
πονηρίαν γιγνομένης αὐτὸς ἂν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος
ἀπολαύσειεν.

Ἔπειτα τίνας ἂν καὶ διαφθείραιεν, καὶ τοὺς
πῶς διακειμένους λάβοιεν ἂν μαθητάς; ἄξιον
223 γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα διελθεῖν. πότερον τοὺς ἤδη
κακοήθεις ὄντας καὶ πονηρούς; καὶ τίς ἄν, ἃ

sending out disciples of that sort; on the contrary, we should be much more despised and hated than those who are charged with other forms of villainy. And, mark you, even if we could shut our eyes to these consequences, we could not gain the most money by directing a training of that character; for, I suppose, all men are aware that a sophist reaps his finest and his largest reward when his pupils prove to be honourable and intelligent and highly esteemed by their fellow-citizens, since pupils of that sort inspire many with the desire to enjoy his teaching, while those who are depraved repel even those who were formerly minded to join his classes. Who, then, could be blind to the more profitable course, when there is so vast a difference between the two?

Perhaps, however, some might venture to reply that many men, because of their incontinence, are not amenable to reason, but neglect their true interests and rush on in the pursuit of pleasure. I grant you that many men in general and some who pretend to be sophists are of this nature. Nevertheless, no one even of their number is so incontinent as to desire his pupils also to show the same lack of control; for he would not be able to share in the pleasures which they might enjoy as the result of their incontinence, while he would bring down upon his own head most of the evil repute which would result from their depravity.

Again, whom would they corrupt and what manner of people would they get as pupils? For this is worth inquiring into. Would they get those who are already perverse and vicious? And who, pray, would make

παρὰ τῆς αὑτοῦ φύσεως ἐπίσταται, ταῦτα παρ' ἑτέρου μανθάνειν ἐπιχειρήσειεν; ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντας; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν εἷς τῶν τοιούτων τοῖς κακόν τι λέγουσιν ἢ πράττουσι διαλεχθῆναι τολμήσειεν.

224 Ἡδέως δ' ἂν κἀκεῖνο πυθοίμην παρὰ τῶν χαλεπῶς ἐχόντων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τίνα ποτὲ γνώμην ἔχουσι περὶ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τόπων δεῦρο πλεόντων, ἵνα παιδευθῶσι. πότερον αὐτοὺς οἴονται σπανίζοντας ἐκεῖ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνθάδε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν; ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν εὕροι τις ἂν τῶν συμπονηρεύεσθαι καὶ συνεξαμαρτάνειν βουλομένων.
225 ἀλλ' ἵνα κακοπράγμονες καὶ συκοφάνται γένωνται, πολλὰ χρήματα τελέσαντες; ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν γνώμην πολὺ ἂν ἥδιον τὰ τῶν ἄλλων λάβοιεν ἢ δοῖεν ἑτέροις ὁτιοῦν τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν· ἔτι δὲ τίνες ἂν ὑπὲρ πονηρίας ἀργύριον ἀναλώσαιεν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν δαπανηθεῖσιν εἶναι τοιούτοις, ὁπόταν βουληθῶσιν; οὐ γὰρ μαθεῖν ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρῆσαι μόνον δεῖ τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἔργων.

226 Ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πλέουσι καὶ χρήματα διδόασι καὶ πάντα ποιοῦσι νομίζοντες αὐτοί τε βελτίους γενήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε παιδεύοντας πολὺ φρονιμωτέρους εἶναι τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· ἐφ' οἷς ἄξιον ἦν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῇ πόλει τῆς δόξης ταύτης γενομένους.

227 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτω τινὲς ἀγνωμόνως ἔχουσιν ὥστ' εἰδότες καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους καὶ τοὺς προεστῶτας τῆς παιδείας οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐπι-

an effort to learn from another what his own nature teaches him? Would they, then, get those who are honest and ambitious to lead a useful life? But no such person would deign to speak with men who are evil in their words and in their deeds.

I should like to ask those who disapprove of me what they think about the students who cross the sea from Sicily, from the Pontus, and from other parts of the world in order to enjoy my instruction. Do they think that they voyage to Athens because of the dearth of evil-minded men at home? But anywhere on earth anyone can find no lack of men willing to aid him in depravity and crime. Do they think, then, that they come here in order to become intriguers and sycophants, at great expense to themselves? But, in the first place, people of this mind are much more inclined to lay hold of other people's property than to part with anything of their own; and, in the next place, who would pay out money to learn depravity, since it is easy to be depraved at no expense whatever, whenever one is so inclined? For there is no need of taking lessons in evil-doing; all that a man has to do is to set his hands to it.

No, it is evident that these students cross the sea and pay out money and go to all manner of trouble because they think that they themselves will be the better for it and that the teachers here are much more intelligent than those in their own countries. This ought to fill all Athenians with pride and make them appreciate at their worth those who have given to the city this reputation.

But, in fact, some of our people are extremely unreasonable. They know that neither the strangers who come here nor the men who preside over their

τηδεύοντας, ἀλλ' ἀπραγμονεστάτους μὲν ὄντας τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πλείστην ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας, προσέχοντας δὲ τὸν νοῦν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς
228 συνουσίας μετ' ἀλλήλων ποιουμένους, ἔτι δὲ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν εὐτελέστατα καὶ κοσμιώτατα ζῶντας, καὶ τῶν λόγων ἐπιθυμοῦντας οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις συμβολαίοις λεγομένων οὐδὲ τῶν λυπούντων τινάς, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμούντων, ὅμως τολμῶσι βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ λέγειν ὡς ταύτην ποιοῦνται τὴν μελέτην, ἵν'
229 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πλεονεκτῶσι. καίτοι τίνες ἂν ἀδικίαν καὶ κακίαν ἀσκοῦντες σωφρονέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ζῆν ἐθελήσαιεν; τίνας δὲ πώποθ' ἑωράκασιν οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἀναβαλλομένους καὶ θησαυριζομένους τὰς πονηρίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθὺς τῇ φύσει τῇ παρούσῃ χρωμένους;

230 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἴπερ ἡ περὶ τοὺς λόγους δεινότης ποιεῖ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύειν, προσῆκεν ἅπαντας τοὺς δυναμένους εἰπεῖν πολυπράγμονας καὶ συκοφάντας εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ αἴτιον ἐν ἅπασι
231 ταὐτὸ πέφυκεν ἐνεργάζεσθαι. νῦν δ' εὑρήσετε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πολιτευομένων καὶ τῶν νεωστὶ τετελευτηκότων τοὺς πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν λόγων ποιουμένους βελτίστους ὄντας τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παριόντων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ῥήτορας καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν λαβόντας πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους τῇ πόλει γεγενημένους, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ Σόλωνος.

education occupy themselves with anything harmful, but that they are, on the contrary, the most unofficious and the most peaceable of all who live in Athens, giving their minds to their own affairs and confining their intercourse to each other, and living, furthermore, day by day in the greatest simplicity and decorum, taking their pleasures in discourse—not the kind of discourse which is employed in petty litigation nor that which is offensive to anyone, but the kind which has the approbation of all men. Nevertheless, although they know all this about them, they do not refrain from traducing them and saying that they engage in this training in order that they may defeat the ends of justice in the courts and win their own advantage. And yet who that engages in the practice of injustice and of evil-doing would be willing to live more continently than the rest? Whom have these traducers ever seen reserving and treasuring up their depravities for future use instead of indulging from the first the evil instincts present in their nature?

But, apart from these considerations, if it be true that cleverness in speech results in plotting against other people's property, we should expect all able speakers to be intriguers and sycophants; for the same cause produces in every instance the same effect. In fact, however, you will find that among our public men who are living to-day or who have but lately passed away those who give most study to the art of words are the best of the statesmen who come before you on the rostrum, and, furthermore, that among the ancients it was the greatest and the most illustrious orators who brought to the city most of her blessings.

232 Ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ προστάτης τοῦ δήμου καταστὰς οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ τὰ πράγματα διέταξε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ᾿ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀγαπᾶσθαι τὴν διοίκησιν τὴν ὑπ᾿ ἐκείνου συνταχθεῖσαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεισθένης ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων, λόγῳ πείσας τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας δανεῖσαι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων αὐτῷ, τόν τε δῆμον κατήγαγε καὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλε καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκείνην κατέστησε, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν γενομένην·
233 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἡγεμὼν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ γενόμενος, συμβουλεύσας τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, (ὃ τίς ἂν οἷός τ᾿ ἐγένετο πεῖσαι μὴ πολὺ τῷ λόγῳ διενεγκών;) εἰς τοῦτ᾿ αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα προήγαγεν ὥστ᾿ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀνάστατοι γενόμενοι πολὺν χρόνον
234 δεσπόται τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέστησαν· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Περικλῆς καὶ δημαγωγὸς ὢν ἀγαθὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος οὕτως ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὥστ᾿ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς εἰσαφικνουμένους εἰς αὐτὴν νομίζειν μὴ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀξίαν εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἐλάττω μυρίων
235 ταλάντων ἀνήνεγκε. καὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τηλικαῦτα διαπραξαμένων οὐδεὶς λόγων ἠμέλησεν,

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[a] For Solon and Cleisthenes as authors of Athenian democracy see *Areop.* 16.

[b] For the Amphictyonic Council see *Phil.* 74, Vol. I. p. 290, footnote *c*. The family of the Alcmaeonidae, to which Cleisthenes belonged, won the favour of this council by their aid in rebuilding the temple of Apollo which had been burned in 548 B.C. The story that Cleisthenes and his

First of all was Solon.[a] For when he was placed at the head of the people, he gave them laws, set their affairs in order, and constituted the government of the city so wisely that even now Athens is well satisfied with the polity which was organized by him. Next, Cleisthenes, after he had been driven from Athens by the tyrants, succeeded by his eloquence in persuading the Amphictyons to lend him money from the treasury of Apollo,[b] and thus restored the people to power, expelled the tyrants, and established that democracy to which the world of Hellas owes its greatest blessings. After him, Themistocles,[c] placed at the head of our forces in the Persian War, counselled our ancestors to abandon the city[d] (and who could have persuaded them to do this but a man of surpassing eloquence?), and so advanced their circumstances that at the price of being homeless for a few days they became for a long period of time the masters of the Hellenes. Finally, Pericles,[e] because he was both a good leader of the people and an excellent orator, so adorned the city with temples, monuments, and other objects of beauty, that even to-day visitors who come to Athens think her worthy of ruling not only the Hellenes, but all the world; and, more than this, he stored away in the Acropolis a sum of not less than ten thousand talents. And of these men who carried out such great enterprises not one neglected the

party got funds from the Amphictyony is found also in Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 144. But the facts are confused; see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* vol. ii. p. 387.

[c] The commander of the Athenian fleet at the battle of Salamis.

[d] See *Paneg.* 96: *Archid.* 43.

[e] See *Peace* 126.

ἀλλὰ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων προσέσχον
αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ὥστε Σόλων μὲν τῶν ἑπτὰ
σοφιστῶν ἐκλήθη καὶ ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν,
τὴν νῦν ἀτιμαζομένην καὶ κρινομένην παρ' ὑμῖν,
Περικλῆς δὲ δυοῖν ἐγένετο μαθητής, Ἀναξαγόρου
τε τοῦ Κλαζομενίου καὶ Δάμωνος, τοῦ κατ'
ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον φρονιμωτάτου δόξαντος εἶναι
236 τῶν πολιτῶν. ὥστ' ἐκ τίνων ἄν τις ὑμῖν σαφέ-
στερον ἐπιδείξειεν ὡς οὐχ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ τῶν
λόγων κακοπράγμονας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιοῦσιν;
ἀλλ' οἱ τοιαύτην φύσιν ἔχοντες, οἵαν περ ὁ κατή-
γορος, πονηροῖς οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς
πράγμασι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν.
237 Ἔχω δὲ δεῖξαι καὶ τόπους ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν ἰδεῖν
τοῖς βουλομένοις τοὺς πολυπράγμονας καὶ τοὺς
ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνόχους ὄντας ἃς οὗτοι τοῖς σοφισταῖς
ἐπιφέρουσιν. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς σανίσι ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀρχόντων ἐκτιθεμέναις ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν μὲν
ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν ἀμφοτέρους ἐνεῖναι,
τούς τε τὴν πόλιν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς συκο-
φαντοῦντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἕνδεκα τούς τε κακουρ-
γοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τούτοις ἐφεστῶτας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
τῶν τετταράκοντα τούς τ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πράγ-
μασιν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ δικαίως ἐγκαλοῦν-
238 τας· ἐν αἷς τοῦτον μὲν καὶ τοὺς τούτου φίλους

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[a] The term " sophists " here is equivalent to " wise men " (σοφοί). The list of the " Seven Sages " varied, but Solon was always included.

[b] For the relation of Pericles to Anaxagoras see Plutarch, *Pericles*. [c] See Plato, *Laches* 180 D.

[d] When a case was accepted for trial, the appropriate court fixed a day for the preliminary hearing, and published the charge on white tablets set up in the market

art of discourse ; nay, so much more did they apply their minds to eloquence than to other things, that Solon was named one of the seven sophists [a] and was given the title which is now dishonoured and on trial here ; and Pericles studied under two of the sophists, Anaxagoras of Clazomenae [b] and Damon,[c] the latter in his day reputed to be the wisest among the Athenians. Could one, then, show more clearly than by these examples that the powers of eloquence do not turn men into evil-doers ? No, but, on the other hand, those who are evil from their birth, like my accuser, will, I doubt not, continue to the end indulging their depravity both in words and in deeds.

But I can show you also where you may see, if you desire, the names of our trouble-makers and of the men who are really liable to the charges which these people apply to the sophists. They are published by law on the tablets which the magistrates set up : public offenders and sycophants have their names published by the Thesmothetae ; malefactors and their instigators, by the Eleven ; and private offenders and authors of unjust complaints, by the Forty.[d] In these lists you will find the names of

place. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* p. 820. The "Thesmothetae" (see 38, note) were responsible for bringing to trial mainly offenders against the state, including sycophants. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* pp. 374 ff. The "Eleven," besides being a board for the care of prisons and for the execution of condemned criminals, dealt with malefactors such as robbers, burglars, pickpockets, kidnappers, etc. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* p. 78. "The Forty," four selected by lot from each of the ten tribes, had jurisdiction over the great mass of private litigation, involving mainly property rights (torts), themselves settling without more ado all petty cases involving sums not exceeding ten drachmas. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* pp. 81 ff.

εὕροιτ᾿ ἂν ἐν πολλαῖς ἐγγεγραμμένους, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ διατριβὴν ὄντας οὐδ᾿ ἐν μιᾷ τούτων ἐνόντας, ἀλλ᾿ οὕτω τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διοικοῦντας ὥστε μηδὲν δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀγώνων
239 τῶν παρ᾿ ὑμῖν. καί τοι τοὺς μήτ᾿ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις ταύταις ὄντας μήτ᾿ ἀκολάστως ζῶντας μήτε περὶ ἄλλην πρᾶξιν μηδεμίαν αἰσχρὰν γεγενημένους πῶς οὐκ ἐπαινεῖσθαι προσήκει μᾶλλον ἢ κρίνεσθαι; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τοιαῦτα τοὺς συνόντας παιδεύομεν, οἷά περ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνομεν ἐπιτηδεύοντες.

240 Ἔτι τοίνυν γνώσεσθε σαφέστερον ἐκ τῶν ῥηθήσεσθαι μελλόντων ὡς πόρρω τοῦ διαφθείρειν τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐσμέν. εἰ γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐποιοῦμεν, οὐκ ἂν Λυσίμαχος ἦν ὁ λυπούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐδ᾿ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἂν ἑωρᾶτε τῶν συνόντων ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ γραφομένους καὶ δίκην ζη-
241 τοῦντας παρ᾿ ἡμῶν λαμβάνειν. νῦν δ᾿ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν συνιστᾶσι τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς αὑτῶν, καὶ χρήματα διδόασι, καὶ χαίρουσιν ὁπόταν ὁρῶσιν αὐτοὺς μεθ᾿ ἡμῶν ἡμερεύοντας, οἱ δὲ συκοφάνται διαβάλλουσι καὶ πράγματα παρέχουσιν ἡμῖν, ὧν τίνες ἂν ἥδιον ἴδοιεν πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν διαφθειρομένους καὶ πονηροὺς γιγνομένους; ἴσασι γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν μὲν τοῖς τοιούτοις δυναστεύοντας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων ἀπολλυμένους,
242 ὁπόταν ληφθῶσιν. ὥσθ᾿ οὗτοι μὲν σωφρονοῦσιν ἀναιρεῖν ζητοῦντες ἁπάσας τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς, ἐν αἷς ἡγοῦνται βελτίους γενομένους χαλεπωτέρους

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 33 D.
[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 34 A-B.

this fellow and his friends recorded many times, but you will not find my name nor that of anyone of my profession published in a single one of them. On the contrary, you will find that we so order our own affairs as to stand in no need of your lawsuits. And yet, when men keep clear of these troubles, when they live decently and have had no part in any disgraceful act, why do you not give them their due of praise instead of subjecting them to trial? For it is evident that the principles which we instil into our students are such as we practise in our own lives.

Now you will appreciate even more clearly from the things which I am going to say that I am far from being a corrupter of our youth. For if I were guilty of this, Lysimachus would not be the one to be incensed in their behalf, nor anyone of his kind, but you would see the fathers and relatives of my pupils up in arms, framing writs and seeking to bring me to justice.[a] But instead of that they bring their sons to me and are ready to pay me money, and are rejoiced when they see them spending their days in my society,[b] while the sycophants are the men who speak evil of me and hale me into court. And who more than these sycophants would like to see many of our citizens corrupted and depraved, since they know that when they live among such characters they wield great power,[c] whereas when they fall into the hands of honourable and intelligent men, they are doomed to destruction? Therefore these men are wise in seeking to do away with all studies which they consider will make men better, and so render them more intolerant of the depravities

[c] *Cf. Peace* 131.

ἔσεσθαι ταῖς αὑτῶν πονηρίαις καὶ συκοφαντίαις, ὑμᾶς δὲ προσήκει τἀναντία τούτοις πράττειν, καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν εἶναι κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἷς ἂν τούτους ὁρᾶτε μάλιστα πολεμοῦντας.

243 Ἄτοπον δέ τι τυγχάνω πεπονθώς· εἰρήσεται γάρ, εἰ καί τινες λίαν εὐμετάβολον εἶναί με φήσουσιν. ὀλίγῳ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἔλεγον ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν διεψευσμένοι τῆς φιλοσοφίας τραχύτερον πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχουσι· νῦν δ' οὕτως ἐναργεῖς ὑπείληφα τοὺς λόγους εἶναι τοὺς εἰρημένους καὶ πᾶσι φανερούς, ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ καταγιγνώσκειν ἡμῶν ὡς διαφθείρομεν τοὺς μαθητάς, οὐδὲ πεπονθέναι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν οἷον αὐτοὺς ὀλίγῳ
244 πρότερον ᾐτιώμην· ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μοι παρεστηκός, ἡγοῦμαι πάντας τοὺς φιλοτίμως μοι[1] διακειμένους ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχοντας τοῦ φρονεῖν εὖ καὶ λέγειν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀμελεῖν τούτων, τοὺς μὲν διὰ ῥᾳθυμίαν, τοὺς δὲ καταμεμφομένους τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὑτῶν, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἄλλας τινὰς προφάσεις (παμπληθεῖς δ' εἰσί),
245 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένους καὶ τυχεῖν βουλομένους ὧν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοὶ καθεστᾶσι, δυσκόλως ἔχειν καὶ ζηλοτυπεῖν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταραγμένως διακεῖσθαι καὶ πεπονθέναι παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐρῶσι· τίνα γὰρ ἄν τις αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκεῖν αἰτίαν ἔχοι πρεπωδεστέραν ταύτης;
246 οἵτινες μακαρίζουσι μὲν καὶ ζηλοῦσι τοὺς καλῶς χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ δυναμένους, ἐπιτιμῶσι δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων τοῖς τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς βουλομένοις. καὶ τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς οὐδείς ἐστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εὔξαιτο μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς δύνασθαι λέγειν, εἰ

and intrigues of the sycophants. It is well for you, however, to take the opposite course and regard those pursuits as the best to which you see that these men are most inimical.

But I now find myself in a curious position; for I am going to be frank even if some will say that I shift my ground too easily. A little while ago I said that many good men had been misled about philosophy, and are consequently harshly disposed toward it. Now, however, I have assumed that the arguments which I have presented are so plain and evident to all that no one, it seems to me, can misapprehend its power or accuse me of corrupting my disciples or have any such feeling as I imputed to them a little while ago. Nevertheless, if I am to speak the truth and say what has now come into my mind, I am of the opinion that while all those who are envious of my success covet the ability to think and speak well, yet they themselves neglect to cultivate it, some because they are indolent, some because they discredit their own powers, and some on other pretexts (and these are legion); but when other men take great pains and show a desire to attain what they themselves covet, then they grow irritated, jealous, perturbed in spirit, and are much in the same state of mind as lovers are. Indeed, how could one more aptly explain their condition? They envy the good fortune of those who are able to use words eloquently; yet they reproach the youth who aspire to win this distinction. There is no one of them who would not pray the gods to bestow the power of eloquence upon himself, first

[1] φιλοτίμως μοι ΓΔΕ: φιλοτίμως Θ.

δὲ μή, τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους τοὺς αὑτοῦ·
247 τοὺς δὲ πόνῳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ τοῦτο κατεργάσασθαι πειρωμένους, ὃ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὶ βούλονται λαβεῖν, οὐδέν φασι τῶν δεόντων πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε μὲν ὡς ἐξηπατημένων καὶ πεφενακισμένων προσποιοῦνται καταγελᾶν αὐτῶν, ὁπόταν δὲ τύχωσι, μεταβαλόντες ὡς περὶ πλεονεκτεῖν δυνα-
248 μένων τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦνται. καὶ συμβούλοις μέν, ὅταν κίνδυνός τις καταλάβῃ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς ἄριστα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων λέγουσι, τούτοις χρῶνται, καὶ πράττουσιν ὅ τι ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι παραινέσωσι· περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔργον ποιουμένους ὅπως χρησίμους αὑτοὺς ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις τῇ πόλει παρασχήσουσι, βλασφημεῖν οἴονται χρῆναι. καὶ Θηβαίοις μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχθροῖς τὴν ἀμαθίαν ὀνειδίζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητοῦντας τὴν νόσον ταύτην διαφυγεῖν λοιδοροῦντες διατελοῦσιν.

249 Ὃ δ' οὐ μόνον ταραχῆς σημεῖόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀλιγωρίας· τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πειθὼ μίαν τῶν θεῶν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶσι καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν θυσίαν αὐτῇ ποιουμένην, τοὺς δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἧς ἡ θεὸς ἔχει μετασχεῖν βουλομένους ὡς κακοῦ πράγ-
250 ματος ἐπιθυμοῦντας διαφθείρεσθαί φασιν. ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὅτι προκρίναιεν μὲν ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν σπουδαιοτέραν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, οὕτω

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[a] No love was lost between Athens and Thebes, and to the Athenians the Thebans were proverbial for their stupidity. *Cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia* 995 E: τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς ἡμᾶς οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ παχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἠλιθίους, μάλιστα διὰ

of all, and failing that, upon his sons and his own kin; yet when men strive through work and study to accomplish for themselves what these people would like to have as a gift from the gods, they accuse them of going utterly astray. At one moment they make believe to mock at them as dupes and victims; and then again, for no reason at all, they change about and denounce them as adepts in grasping their own advantage. When any danger threatens the city, they seek counsel from those who can speak best upon the question at issue and act upon their advice; but when men devote their efforts to preparing themselves to serve the state in just such crises, they think it proper to traduce them. And they reproach the Thebans and our other enemies for their ignorance;[a] yet when men seek by every means to escape from that malady, they never cease maligning them.

But as a symptom, not only of their confusion of mind, but of their contempt for the gods, they recognize that Persuasion is one of the gods, and they observe that the city makes sacrifices to her every year,[b] but when men aspire to share the power which the goddess possesses, they claim that such aspirants are being corrupted, as though their desire were for some evil thing. But what is most astonishing of all is that while they would grant that the mind is superior to the body, nevertheless, in spite of this

τὰς ἀδηφαγίας προσαγορεύουσιν. *Cf.* Pindar, *Olym.* vi. 148-153; Cicero, *De fato* 4; Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 241-244.

[b] Pausanias (i. 22. 3) states that the worship of Πειθώ (Persuasion) was established in Athens by Theseus, and speaks of a statue of this goddess as once standing near the Acropolis. A special seat of honour was assigned to her priestess in the Theatre. See *C.I.A.* iii. 351.

δὲ γιγνώσκοντες ἀποδέχονται μᾶλλον τοὺς γυμναζομένους τῶν φιλοσοφούντων. καί τοι πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον τοὺς τοῦ φαυλοτέρου ποιουμένους τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπαινεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τοῦ σπουδαιοτέρου, καὶ ταῦτα πάντων εἰδότων διὰ μὲν εὐεξίαν σώματος οὐδὲν πώποτε τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἔργων διαπραξαμένην, διὰ δὲ φρόνησιν ἀνδρὸς εὐδαιμονεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων γενομένην;

251 Πολὺ δ' ἄν τις ἔχοι πλείους τούτων ἐναντιώσεις συναγαγεῖν τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε μᾶλλον ἠγὼ καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ παρόντος μὴ φροντιζόντων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τάδε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν. φέρε γὰρ εἴ τινες πολλὰ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παραλαβόντες τῇ μὲν πόλει μηδὲν εἶεν χρήσιμοι, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ὑβρίζοιεν καὶ τούς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αἰσχύνοιεν, ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πλούτου μέμψασθαι τολμήσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας
252 κολάζειν ἀξιώσειε; τί δ' εἴ τινες ὁπλομαχεῖν μαθόντες πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ χρῷντο ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις, ἐπανάστασιν δὲ ποιήσαντες πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν διαφθείραιεν, ἢ καὶ πυκτεύειν καὶ παγκρατιάζειν ὡς οἷόντ' ἄριστα παιδευθέντες τῶν μὲν ἀγώνων ἀμελοῖεν, τοὺς δ' ἀπαντῶντας τύπτοιεν, τίς οὐκ ἂν τούτων τοὺς μὲν διδασκάλους ἐπαινέσειε, τοὺς δὲ κακῶς χρωμένους οἷς ἔμαθον ἀποκτείνειεν;

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[a] *Cf.* the opening paragraph of the *Panegyricus* and note.

[b] The rendering is here doubtful. Literally it is "through wisdom of a man." Possibly Isocrates has in mind Pericles and the triumphs of Athens under his administration. Supporting the rendering "of a man" is *Areop.* 11.

opinion, they look with greater favour upon training in gymnastics than upon the study of philosophy.[a] And yet how unreasonable it is to give higher praise to those who cultivate the less than to those who cultivate the greater thing, and that too when everyone knows it was not through excellence of body that Athens ever accomplished any noteworthy thing, but that through wisdom of men[b] she became the most prosperous and the greatest of Hellenic states.

It would be possible to bring together many more contradictions than the above in the views of these people, but that is a task for those who are younger than I and who are free from anxiety about the present occasion. For example, one might put the following questions on this very subject: Suppose the case of men who, having inherited large fortunes from their ancestors, used their wealth, not to render themselves serviceable to the state, but to outrage their fellow-citizens and to dishonour their sons and their wives; would anyone venture to put the blame upon the authors of their wealth instead of demanding that the offenders themselves be punished? Again, suppose the case of men who, having mastered the art of war, did not use their skill against the enemy, but rose up and slew many of their fellow-citizens; or suppose the case of men who, having been trained to perfection in the art of boxing or of the pancration, kept away from the games and fell foul of the passers-by; would anyone withhold praise from their instructors instead of putting to death those who turned their lessons to an evil use?[c]

[c] The same point is made in *Nicocles* 3-4. *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1355 b.

253 Οὐκοῦν χρὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν λόγων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν
διάνοιαν ἥν περ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ μὴ περὶ
τῶν ὁμοίων τἀναντία γιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ πρὸς
τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα δυσμενῶς φαίνεσθαι διακειμέ-
νους, ὃ πάντων τῶν ἐνόντων ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
φύσει πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιόν ἐστι. τοῖς μὲν
γὰρ ἄλλοις οἷς ἔχομεν, ὅ περ[1] ἤδη καὶ πρότερον
εἶπον, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων διαφέρομεν, ἀλλὰ
πολλῶν καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
254 εὐπορίαις καταδεέστεροι τυγχάνομεν ὄντες· ἐγγενο-
μένου δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῦ πείθειν ἀλλήλους καὶ δηλοῦν
πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ ὧν ἂν βουληθῶμεν, οὐ
μόνον τοῦ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἀπηλλάγημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
συνελθόντες πόλεις ᾠκίσαμεν καὶ νόμους ἐθέμεθα
καὶ τέχνας εὕρομεν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ δι᾽
ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένα λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὁ συγκατα-
255 σκευάσας. οὗτος γὰρ περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν
ἀδίκων καὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐνομο-
θέτησεν, ὧν μὴ διαταχθέντων οὐκ ἂν οἷοί τ᾽ ἦμεν
οἰκεῖν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων. τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς
ἐξελέγχομεν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐγκωμιάζομεν.
διὰ τούτου τούς τ᾽ ἀνοήτους παιδεύομεν καὶ τοὺς
φρονίμους δοκιμάζομεν· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ τοῦ
φρονεῖν εὖ μέγιστον σημεῖον ποιούμεθα, καὶ λόγος
ἀληθὴς καὶ νόμιμος καὶ δίκαιος ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ
256 πιστῆς εἴδωλόν ἐστι. μετὰ τούτου καὶ περὶ τῶν
ἀμφισβητησίμων ἀγωνιζόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγνοου-
μένων σκοπούμεθα· ταῖς γὰρ πίστεσιν, αἷς τοὺς
ἄλλους λέγοντες πείθομεν, ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις
βουλευόμενοι χρώμεθα, καὶ ῥητορικοὺς μὲν καλοῦ-

[1] ὅ περ Benseler: ἅ περ mss.

[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 48.

We ought, therefore, to think of the art of discourse just as we think of the other arts, and not to form opposite judgements about similar things, nor show ourselves intolerant toward that power which, of all the faculties which belong to the nature of man, is the source of most of our blessings. For in the other powers which we possess, as I have already said on a former occasion,[a] we are in no respect superior to other living creatures; nay, we are inferior to many in swiftness and in strength and in other resources; but, because there has been implanted in us the power to persuade each other and to make clear to each other whatever we desire, not only have we escaped the life of wild beasts, but we have come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and, generally speaking, there is no institution devised by man which the power of speech has not helped us to establish. For this it is which has laid down laws concerning things just and unjust, and things honourable and base; and if it were not for these ordinances we should not be able to live with one another. It is by this also that we confute the bad and extol the good. Through this we educate the ignorant and appraise the wise; for the power to speak well is taken as the surest index of a sound understanding, and discourse which is true and lawful and just is the outward image of a good and faithful soul. With this faculty we both contend against others on matters which are open to dispute and seek light for ourselves on things which are unknown; for the same arguments which we use in persuading others when we speak in public, we employ also when we deliberate in our own thoughts; and, while we call eloquent

μεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πλήθει λέγειν δυναμένους, εὐβούλους δὲ νομίζομεν οἵτινες ἂν αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
257 *ἄριστα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διαλεχθῶσιν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ συλλήβδην περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν τῶν φρονίμως πραττομένων εὑρήσομεν ἀλόγως γιγνόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν διανοημάτων ἁπάντων ἡγεμόνα λόγον ὄντα, καὶ μάλιστα χρωμένους αὐτῷ τοὺς πλεῖστον νοῦν ἔχοντας.*

Ὧν οὐδὲν ἐνθυμηθεὶς Λυσίμαχος κατηγορεῖν ἐτόλμησε τῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοιούτου πράγματος, ὃ τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τηλικούτων τὸ μέγεθος
258 *ἀγαθῶν αἴτιόν ἐστιν. καὶ τί δεῖ τούτου θαυμάζειν, ὅπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας σπουδαζόντων ἔνιοί τινες ὁμοίως βλασφημοῦσι περὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ὥσπερ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, οὐδ' ὅτι τάχιστ' ἂν οὗτοι τοὺς χρωμένους ὠφελήσαιεν, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζοντες, ἢν τούτους διαβάλλωσι, τοὺς αὑτῶν ἐντιμοτέρους ποιήσειν.*

259 *Περὶ ὧν δυνηθείην μὲν ἂν ἴσως διαλεχθῆναι πολὺ πικρότερον ἢ 'κεῖνοι περὶ ἡμῶν, οὐδέτερον δ' οἶμαι δεῖν, οὔθ' ὅμοιος γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου διεφθαρμένοις, οὔτε ψέγειν τοὺς μηδὲν μὲν κακὸν τοὺς συνόντας ἐργαζομένους, ἧττον δ' ἑτέρων εὐεργετεῖν δυναμένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μικρά γε μνησθήσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν, μάλιστα μὲν ὅτι κἀκεῖνοι περὶ ἡμῶν, ἔπειθ' ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς σαφέστερον εἰδότες τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν οὕτω διακέησθε*

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[a] 253-257 are quoted from *Nicocles* 5-9.

[b] The "eristics." *Cf. Epist.* v. 3 ff. See General Introd. p. xxi. In this passage, as well as in *Epist.* v. 3 ff., he may

those who are able to speak before a crowd, we regard as sage those who most skilfully debate their problems in their own minds. And, if there is need to speak in brief summary of this power, we shall find that none of the things which are done with intelligence take place without the help of speech, but that in all our actions as well as in all our thoughts speech is our guide, and is most employed by those who have the most wisdom.[a]

But without reflecting at all on these truths, Lysimachus has dared to attack those who aspire to an accomplishment which is the source of blessings so many and so great. But why should we be surprised at him when even among the professors of disputation[b] there are some who talk no less abusively of the art of speaking on general and useful themes than do the most benighted of men, not that they are ignorant of its power or of the advantage which it quickly gives to those who avail themselves of it, but because they think that by decrying this art they will enhance the standing of their own.

I could, perhaps, say much harsher things of them than they of me, but I refrain for a double reason. I want neither to descend to the level of men whom envy has made blind nor to censure men who, although they do no actual harm to their pupils are less able to benefit them than are other teachers. I shall, however, say a few words about them, first because they also have paid their compliments to me ; second, in order that you, being better informed as to their powers, may estimate us justly in relation

be resenting the criticisms of the Aristotelians. See Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii. p. 65.

260 πρὸς ἑκάστους ἡμῶν ὥσπερ δίκαιόν ἐστι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσω φανερόν, ὅτι περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ἡμεῖς ὄντες, οὓς ἐκεῖνοί φασιν εἶναι φιλαπεχθήμονας, πολὺ πραότεροι τυγχάνομεν αὐτῶν ὄντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀεί τι περὶ ἡμῶν φλαῦρον λέγουσιν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις χρήσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

261 Ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐριστικοῖς λόγοις δυναστεύοντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τὴν γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν μαθημάτων διατρίβοντας οὐ βλάπτειν ἀλλ' ὠφελεῖν τοὺς συνόντας, ἐλάττω μὲν ὧν ὑπισχνοῦνται,
262 πλείω δ' ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δοκοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπειλήφασιν ἀδολεσχίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν μαθημάτων· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν εἶναι χρήσιμον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς μνείαις οὐδένα χρόνον ἐμμένειν ταῖς τῶν μαθόντων διὰ τὸ μήτε τῷ βίῳ παρακολουθεῖν μήτε ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπαμύνειν, ἀλλ' ἔξω παντάπασιν εἶναι τῶν ἀναγ-
263 καίων. ἐγὼ δ' οὔθ' οὕτως οὔτε πόρρω τούτων ἔγνωκα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οἵ τε νομίζοντες μηδὲν χρησίμην εἶναι τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ὀρθῶς μοι δοκοῦσι γιγνώσκειν, οἵ τ' ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτὴν ἀληθῆ λέγειν. διὰ τοῦτο δ' οὐχ ὁμολογούμενον αὐτὸν αὑτῷ τὸν λόγον εἴρηκα, διότι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μαθήματα τὴν φύσιν οὐδὲν
264 ὁμοίαν ἔχει τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς διδασκόμεθα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τότ' ὠφελεῖν ἡμᾶς πέφυκεν, ὅταν λάβωμεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπηκριβωμένους οὐδὲν ἂν εὐεργετήσειε, πλὴν τοὺς ἐντεῦθεν ζῆν προῃρημένους, τοὺς δὲ μανθά-

to each other; and, furthermore, that I may show you clearly that we who are occupied with political discourse and whom they call contentious are more considerate than they; for although they are always saying disparaging things of me, I shall not answer them in kind but shall confine myself to the simple truth.

For I believe that the teachers who are skilled in disputation and those who are occupied with astronomy and geometry and studies of that sort[a] do not injure but, on the contrary, benefit their pupils, not so much as they profess, but more than others give them credit for. Most men see in such studies nothing but empty talk and hair-splitting; for none of these disciplines has any useful application either to private or to public affairs; nay, they are not even remembered for any length of time after they are learned because they do not attend us through life nor do they lend aid in what we do, but are wholly divorced from our necessities. But I am neither of this opinion nor am I far removed from it; rather it seems to me both that those who hold that this training is of no use in practical life are right and that those who speak in praise of it have truth on their side. If there is a contradiction in this statement, it is because these disciplines are different in their nature from the other studies which make up our education; for the other branches avail us only after we have gained a knowledge of them, whereas these studies can be of no benefit to us after we have mastered them unless we have elected to make our living from this source, and only help us while

[a] Compare Socrates' views, Xen. *Memorabilia* iv. 7. 2 ff.

νοντας ὀνίνησι· περὶ γὰρ τὴν περιττολογίαν καὶ
τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ γεωμετρίας
265 διατρίβοντες, καὶ δυσκαταμαθήτοις πράγμασιν
ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἔτι δὲ συν-
εθιζόμενοι λέγειν καὶ πονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις
καὶ δεικνυμένοις καὶ μὴ πεπλανημένην ἔχειν τὴν
διάνοιαν, ἐν τούτοις γυμνασθέντες καὶ παροξυνθέν-
τες ῥᾷον καὶ θᾶττον τὰ σπουδαιότερα καὶ πλέονος
ἄξια τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ μανθάνειν
266 δύνανται. φιλοσοφίαν μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν
προσαγορεύειν τὴν μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μήτε
πρὸς τὸ λέγειν μήτε πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ὠφελοῦσαν,
γυμνασίαν μέντοι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν
φιλοσοφίας καλῶ τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν τοιαύτην,
ἀνδρικωτέραν μὲν ἧς οἱ παῖδες ἐν τοῖς διδα-
σκαλείοις ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα παραπλησίαν·
267 καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων οἱ περὶ τὴν γραμματικὴν καὶ τὴν
μουσικὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν διαπονηθέντες
πρὸς μὲν τὸ βέλτιον εἰπεῖν ἢ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ
τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδεμίαν πω λαμβάνουσιν ἐπί-
δοσιν, αὐτοὶ δ' αὑτῶν εὐμαθέστεροι γίγνονται πρὸς
τὰ μείζω καὶ σπουδαιότερα τῶν μαθημάτων.
268 διατρῖψαι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς παιδείας ταύτας χρόνον
τινὰ συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν τοῖς νεωτέροις, μὴ μέντοι
περιιδεῖν τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὑτῶν κατασκελετευθεῖσαν
ἐπὶ τούτοις, μηδ' ἐξοκείλασαν εἰς τοὺς λόγους
τοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄπειρον
τὸ πλῆθος ἔφησεν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς
δὲ τέτταρα, καὶ νεῖκος καὶ φιλίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, Ἴων
δ' οὐ πλείω τριῶν, Ἀλκμαίων δὲ δύο μόνα,

[a] See *Panath.* 26; General Introd. p. xxiii.
[b] A broad term including the study of poetry.

we are in the process of learning. For while we are occupied with the subtlety and exactness of astronomy and geometry and are forced to apply our minds to difficult problems, and are, in addition, being habituated to speak and apply ourselves to what is said and shown to us, and not to let our wits go wool-gathering, we gain the power, after being exercised and sharpened on these disciplines, of grasping and learning more easily and more quickly those subjects which are of more importance and of greater value.[a] I do not, however, think it proper to apply the term "philosophy" to a training which is no help to us in the present either in our speech or in our actions, but rather I would call it a gymnastic of the mind and a preparation for philosophy. It is, to be sure, a study more advanced than that which boys in school pursue, but it is for the most part the same sort of thing; for they also when they have laboured through their lessons in grammar, music,[b] and the other branches, are not a whit advanced in their ability to speak and deliberate on affairs, but they have increased their aptitude for mastering greater and more serious studies. I would, therefore, advise young men to spend some time on these disciplines,[c] but not to allow their minds to be dried up by these barren subtleties, nor to be stranded on the speculations of the ancient sophists, who maintain, some of them, that the sum of things is made up of infinite elements; Empedocles that it is made up of four, with strife and love operating among them; Ion, of not more than three; Alcmaeon, of only two; Parmenides

[c] Compare Callicles' similar view about the study of philosophy in Plato, *Gorgias* 484 c.

Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Μέλισσος ἕν, Γοργίας δὲ
269 παντελῶς οὐδέν. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας
περιττολογίας ὁμοίας εἶναι ταῖς θαυματοποιίαις,
ταῖς οὐδὲν μὲν ὠφελούσαις ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνοήτων
περιστάτοις γιγνομέναις, δεῖν δὲ τοὺς προὔργου
τι ποιεῖν βουλομένους καὶ τῶν λόγων τοὺς ματαίους
καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μηδὲν πρὸς τὸν βίον
φερούσας ἀναιρεῖν ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν διατριβῶν.
270 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀπόχρη μοι τὸ νῦν εἶναι
ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι καὶ συμβεβουλευκέναι· περὶ δὲ
σοφίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας τοῖς μὲν περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν
ἀγωνιζομένοις οὐκ ἂν ἁρμόσειε λέγειν περὶ τῶν
ὀνομάτων τούτων (ἔστι γὰρ ἀλλότρια πάσαις ταῖς
πραγματείαις), ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ κρίνομαι περὶ
τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ὑπό τινων
φιλοσοφίαν οὐκ εἶναι φημί, προσήκει τὴν δικαίως
ἂν νομιζομένην ὁρίσαι καὶ δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
271 ἁπλῶς δέ πως τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων περὶ αὐτῶν.
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ φύσει τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν ἣν ἔχοντες ἂν εἰδεῖμεν ὅ
τι πρακτέον ἢ λεκτέον ἐστίν, ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν
σοφοὺς μὲν νομίζω τοὺς ταῖς δόξαις ἐπιτυγχάνειν
ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βελτίστου δυναμένους, φιλοσόφους
δὲ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις διατρίβοντας ἐξ ὧν
τάχιστα λήψονται τὴν τοιαύτην φρόνησιν.
272 Ἃ δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ταύτην ἔχοντα
τὴν δύναμιν, ἔχω μὲν εἰπεῖν, ὀκνῶ δὲ λέγειν· οὕτω

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[a] The fruitlessness of the speculations of the early philosophers (physicists) is shown, according to Isocrates, in the utter diversity of their views, for example, regarding the first principles or primary elements from which the world was created. At one extreme was Anaxagoras, who held that the primary elements were infinite in number; at the

and Melissus, of one; and Gorgias, of none at all.[a] For I think that such curiosities of thought are on a par with jugglers' tricks which, though they do not profit anyone, yet attract great crowds of the empty-minded, and I hold that men who want to do some good in the world must banish utterly from their interests all vain speculations and all activities which have no bearing on our lives.

Now I have spoken and advised you enough on these studies for the present. It remains to tell you about "wisdom" and "philosophy."[b] It is true that if one were pleading a case on any other issue it would be out of place to discuss these words (for they are foreign to all litigation), but it is appropriate for me, since I am being tried on such an issue, and since I hold that what some people call philosophy is not entitled to that name, to define and explain to you what philosophy, properly conceived, really is. My view of this question is, as it happens, very simple. For since it is not in the nature of man to attain a science by the possession of which we can know positively what we should do or what we should say, in the next resort I hold that man to be wise who is able by his powers of conjecture to arrive generally at the best course, and I hold that man to be a philosopher who occupies himself with the studies from which he will most quickly gain that kind of insight.[c]

What the studies are which have this power I can tell you, although I hesitate to do so; they are so

other was Gorgias, who in his nihilistic philosophy denied that there was any such thing as being or entity at all. *Cf. Hel.* 3; Xen. *Memorabilia* i. 1. 14 ff.; Plato, *Sophist* 242.

[b] See General Introd. pp. xxvi ff.

[c] See 184 and note.

γάρ ἐστι σφόδρα καὶ παράδοξα καὶ πολὺ τῆς τῶν
ἄλλων ἀφεστῶτα διανοίας, ὥστε φοβοῦμαι μὴ
τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες θορύβου καὶ βοῆς
ἅπαν ἐμπλήσητε τὸ δικαστήριον. ὅμως δὲ καί-
περ οὕτω διακείμενος ἐπιχειρήσω διαλεχθῆναι
περὶ αὐτῶν· αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ εἴ τισι δόξω δεδιὼς
ὑπὲρ γήρως καὶ μικροῦ βίου προδιδόναι τὴν
273 ἀλήθειαν. δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν μὴ προκαταγνῶναί
μου τοιαύτην μανίαν, ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ κινδυνεύων
προειλόμην ἂν λόγους εἰπεῖν ἐναντίους ταῖς ὑμε-
τέραις γνώμαις, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις
ἀκολούθους αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἀπο-
δείξεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ σαφεῖς ᾤμην ἔχειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.
274 Ἡγοῦμαι δὲ τοιαύτην μὲν τέχνην, ἥτις τοῖς
κακῶς πεφυκόσιν ἀρετὴν ἐνεργάσαιτ' ἂν καὶ
δικαιοσύνην, οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν οὐδεμίαν
εἶναι, τούς τε τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ποιουμένους περὶ
αὐτῶν πρότερον ἀπερεῖν καὶ παύσεσθαι ληροῦντας,
275 πρὶν εὑρεθῆναί τινα παιδείαν τοιαύτην, οὐ μὴν
ἀλλ' αὐτούς γ' αὑτῶν βελτίους ἂν γίγνεσθαι καὶ
πλέονος ἀξίους, εἰ πρός τε τὸ λέγειν εὖ φιλοτίμως
διατεθεῖεν, καὶ τοῦ πείθειν δύνασθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας
ἐρασθεῖεν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τῆς πλεονεξίας
ἐπιθυμήσαιεν, μὴ τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνοήτων νομιζο-
μένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην
276 ἐχούσης. καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς οὕτω πέφυκε, ταχέως
οἶμαι δηλώσειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ λέγειν ἢ γράφειν προαιρού-

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[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 38 c.

[b] *Cf. Against the Sophists* 21; Theognis 429 ff.; Xen. *Memorabilia* i. 2. 19 ff.; Plato, *Meno* 95 ff.

contrary to popular belief and so very far removed from the opinions of the rest of the world, that I am afraid lest when you first hear them you will fill the whole court-room with your murmurs and your cries. Nevertheless, in spite of my misgivings, I shall attempt to tell you about them; for I blush at the thought that anyone might suspect me of betraying the truth to save my old age and the little of life remaining to me.[a] But, I beg of you, do not, before you have heard me, judge that I could have been so mad as to choose deliberately, when my fate is in your hands, to express to you ideas which are repugnant to your opinions if I had not believed that these ideas follow logically on what I have previously said, and that I could support them with true and convincing proofs.

I consider that the kind of art which can implant honesty and justice in depraved natures has never existed and does not now exist, and that people who profess that power will grow weary and cease from their vain pretensions before such an education is ever found.[b] But I do hold that people can become better and worthier if they conceive an ambition to speak well,[c] if they become possessed of the desire to be able to persuade their hearers, and, finally, if they set their hearts on seizing their advantage—I do not mean "advantage" in the sense given to that word by the empty-minded, but advantage in the true meaning of that term;[d] and that this is so I think I shall presently make clear.

For, in the first place, when anyone elects to speak

[c] *Cf. Against the Sophists* 15.

[d] Compare his discussion of true advantage in *Nicocles* 2; *Peace* 28-35.

μενος λόγους ἀξίους ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ποιήσεται τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀδίκους ἢ μικρὰς ἢ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς καὶ φιλανθρώπους καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων· μὴ γὰρ τοιαύτας εὑρίσκων οὐδὲν
277 διαπράξεται τῶν δεόντων. ἔπειτα τῶν πράξεων τῶν συντεινουσῶν πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέξεται τὰς πρεπωδεστάτας καὶ μάλιστα συμφερούσας· ὁ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας συνεθιζόμενος θεωρεῖν καὶ δοκιμάζειν οὐ μόνον περὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα λόγον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις τὴν αὐτὴν ἕξει ταύτην δύναμιν, ὥσθ᾽ ἅμα τὸ λέγειν εὖ καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν παραγενήσεται τοῖς φιλοσόφως καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τοὺς λόγους διακειμένοις.

278 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ὁ πείθειν τινὰς βουλόμενος ἀμελήσει τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μάλιστα προσέξει τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως δόξαν ὡς ἐπιεικεστάτην λήψεται παρὰ τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀληθεστέρους δοκοῦντας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ διακειμένων λεγομένους ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διαβεβλημένων, καὶ τὰς πίστεις μεῖζον δυναμένας τὰς ἐκ τοῦ βίου γεγενημένας ἢ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πεποριςμένας; ὥσθ᾽ ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἐρρωμενεστέρως ἐπιθυμῇ πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀσκήσει καλὸς κἀγαθὸς εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμεῖν.

279 Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν οἰέσθω τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας γιγνώσκειν ὅσην ἔχει ῥοπὴν εἰς τὸ πείθειν τὸ τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἀρέσκειν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντας μόνους ἀγνοεῖν τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας δύναμιν·

[a] See General Introd. p. xxiv.

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1356 a: κυριωτάτη πίστις τὸ ἦθος.

or write discourses which are worthy of praise and honour, it is not conceivable that he will support causes which are unjust or petty or devoted to private quarrels, and not rather those which are great and honourable, devoted to the welfare of man and our common good; for if he fails to find causes of this character, he will accomplish nothing to the purpose. In the second place, he will select from all the actions of men which bear upon his subject those examples which are the most illustrious and the most edifying; and, habituating himself to contemplate and appraise such examples, he will feel their influence not only in the preparation of a given discourse but in all the actions of his life.[a] It follows, then, that the power to speak well and think right will reward the man who approaches the art of discourse with love of wisdom and love of honour.

Furthermore, mark you, the man who wishes to persuade people will not be negligent as to the matter of character; no, on the contrary, he will apply himself above all to establish a most honourable name among his fellow-citizens; for who does not know that words carry greater conviction when spoken by men of good repute than when spoken by men who live under a cloud, and that the argument which is made by a man's life is of more weight than that which is furnished by words?[b] Therefore, the stronger a man's desire to persuade his hearers, the more zealously will he strive to be honourable and to have the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

And let no one of you suppose that while all other people realize how much the scales of persuasion incline in favour of one who has the approval of his judges, the devotees of philosophy alone are blind

πολὺ γὰρ ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταῦτ' ἴσασι,
280 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅτι τὰ μὲν εἰκότα καὶ τὰ τεκμήρια καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν πίστεων εἶδος τοῦτο μόνον ὠφελεῖ τὸ μέρος, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τύχῃ ῥηθέν, τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν εἶναι καλὸν κἀγαθὸν οὐ μόνον τὸν λόγον πιστότερον ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην δόξαν ἔχοντος ἐντιμοτέρας κατέστησεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ σπουδαστέον ἐστὶ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων.

281 Τὸ τοίνυν περὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὃ δυσχερέστατον ἦν τῶν ῥηθέντων· εἰ μέν τις ὑπολαμβάνει τοὺς ἀποστεροῦντας ἢ παραλογιζομένους ἢ κακόν τι ποιοῦντας πλεονεκτεῖν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· οὐδένες γὰρ ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ βίῳ μᾶλλον ἐλαττοῦνται τῶν τοιούτων, οὐδ' ἐν πλέοσιν ἀπορίαις εἰσίν, οὐδ' ἐπονειδιστότερον ζῶσιν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἀθλιώτεροι
282 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· χρὴ δὲ καὶ νῦν πλέον ἔχειν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ πλεονεκτήσειν νομίζειν παρὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπιμελεστάτους ὄντας, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἄριστα πρὸς τούτους μεθ' ὧν ἂν οἰκῶσι καὶ πολιτεύωνται διακειμένους καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους αὐτοὺς εἶναι δοκοῦντας.

283 Καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ συμφέρει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον λέγεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ νῦν γ' οὕτως ἀνέστραπται καὶ συγκέχυται πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἔνιοί τινες ἔτι χρῶνται κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ

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[a] *Cf.* 275.

[b] *Cf. Peace* 34.

to the power of good will. In fact, they appreciate this even more thoroughly than others, and they know, furthermore, that probabilities and proofs and all forms of persuasion support only the points in a case to which they are severally applied, whereas an honourable reputation not only lends greater persuasiveness to the words of the man who possesses it, but adds greater lustre to his deeds, and is, therefore, more zealously to be sought after by men of intelligence than anything else in the world.

I come now to the question of "advantage"[a]—the most difficult of the points I have raised. If any one is under the impression that people who rob others or falsify accounts or do any evil thing get the advantage, he is wrong in his thinking; for none are at a greater disadvantage throughout their lives than such men; none are found in more difficult straits, none live in greater ignominy; and, in a word, none are more miserable than they. No, you ought to believe rather that those are better off now and will receive the advantage in the future at the hands of the gods[b] who are the most righteous and the most faithful in their devotions, and that those receive the better portion at the hands of men who are the most conscientious in their dealings with their associates, whether in their homes or in public life, and are themselves esteemed as the noblest among their fellows.

This is verily the truth, and it is well for us to adopt this way of speaking on the subject, since, as things now are, Athens has in many respects been plunged into such a state of topsy-turvy and confusion that some of our people no longer use words in their proper meaning but wrest them from the

μεταφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων πραγμάτων
284 ἐπὶ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. τοὺς μέν
γε βωμολοχευομένους καὶ σκώπτειν καὶ μιμεῖ-
σθαι δυναμένους εὐφυεῖς καλοῦσι, προσῆκον τῆς
προσηγορίας ταύτης τυγχάνειν τοὺς ἄριστα πρὸς
ἀρετὴν πεφυκότας· τοὺς δὲ ταῖς κακοηθείαις καὶ
ταῖς κακουργίαις χρωμένους, καὶ μικρὰ μὲν
λαμβάνοντας πονηρὰν δὲ δόξαν κτωμένους, πλεον-
εκτεῖν νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς ὁσιωτάτους καὶ
δικαιοτάτους, οἳ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλ' οὐ[1] τῶν
285 κακῶν πλεονεκτοῦσι· τοὺς δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαίων
ἀμελοῦντας, τὰς δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν τερατο-
λογίας ἀγαπῶντας φιλοσοφεῖν φασιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς
τὰ τοιαῦτα μανθάνοντας καὶ μελετῶντας ἐξ ὧν
καὶ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως
καλῶς διοικήσουσιν, ὧνπερ ἕνεκα καὶ πονητέον
καὶ φιλοσοφητέον καὶ πάντα πρακτέον ἐστίν.

Ἀφ' ὧν ὑμεῖς πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἀπελαύνετε
τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀποδεχόμενοι τοὺς λόγους τῶν
286 διαβαλλόντων τὴν τοιαύτην παιδείαν. καὶ γάρ
τοι πεποιήκατε τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεστάτους αὐτῶν
ἐν πότοις καὶ συνουσίαις καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαις καὶ
παιδιαῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν διάγειν, ἀμελήσαντας τοῦ
σπουδάζειν ὅπως ἔσονται βελτίους, τοὺς δὲ χείρω
τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντας ἐν τοιαύταις ἀκολασίαις ἡμε-
ρεύειν, ἐν αἷς πρότερον οὐδ' ἂν οἰκέτης ἐπιεικὴς
287 οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
Ἐννεακρούνου ψύχουσιν οἶνον, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς

[1] ἀλλ' οὐ Blass: ἀμελήσαντες Θ.

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[a] Reminiscent of Thuc. iii. 82 ff.
[b] *Cf. Areop.* 49.
[c] *Cf. Areop.* 50.
[d] A famous spring near the Acropolis, first called Callir-

most honourable associations and apply them to the basest pursuits.[a] On the one hand, they speak of men who play the buffoon and have a talent for mocking and mimicking as "gifted"[b]—an appellation which should be reserved for men endowed with the highest excellence; while, on the other hand, they think of men who indulge their depraved and criminal instincts and who for small gains acquire a base reputation as "getting the advantage," instead of applying this term to the most righteous and the most upright, that is, to men who take advantage of the good and not the evil things of life. They characterize men who ignore our practical needs and delight in the mental juggling of the ancient sophists as "students of philosophy," but refuse this name to whose who pursue and practise those studies which will enable us to govern wisely both our own households and the commonwealth—which should be the objects of our toil, of our study, and of our every act.

It is from these pursuits that you have for a long time now been driving away our youth,[c] because you accept the words of those who denounce this kind of education. Yes, and you have brought it about that the most promising of our young men are wasting their youth in drinking-bouts, in parties, in soft living and childish folly, to the neglect of all efforts to improve themselves; while those of grosser nature are engaged from morning until night in extremes of dissipation which in former days an honest slave would have despised. You see some of them chilling their wine at the "Nine-fountains"[d]; others, drink-

rhoe (Fair-flowing). Later, when enclosed and adorned by Pisistratus, it was called the Fountain of Nine Spouts. See Thuc. ii. 15; Gardner, *Ancient Athens* p. 18.

καπηλείοις πίνουσιν, ἕτεροι δ' ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις κυβεύουσι, πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν αὐλητρίδων διδασκαλείοις διατρίβουσι.

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτρέποντας οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν κήδεσθαι φασκόντων τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσήγαγεν· ἡμῖν δὲ κακὰ παρέχουσιν, οἷς ἄξιον ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου, τούτου γε χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι τοὺς συνόντας τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀποτρέπομεν.

288 Οὕτω δ' ἐστὶ δυσμενὲς ἅπασι τὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν γένος, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν λυομένοις εἴκοσι καὶ τριάκοντα μνῶν τὰς μελλούσας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον οἶκον συναναιρήσειν οὐχ ὅπως ἂν ἐπιπλήξειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγχαίρουσι ταῖς ἀσωτίαις αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν αὑτῶν παιδείαν ὁτιοῦν ἀναλίσκοντας διαφθείρεσθαί φασιν. ὧν τίνες ἂν ἀδικώτερον ἔχοιεν τὴν αἰτίαν
289 ταύτην; οἵτινες ἐν ταύταις μὲν ταῖς ἀκμαῖς ὄντες ὑπερεῖδον τὰς ἡδονάς, ἐν αἷς οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τηλικούτων μάλιστ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἐξὸν δ' αὐτοῖς ῥᾳθυμεῖν μηδὲν δαπανωμένοις εἵλοντο πονεῖν χρήματα τελέσαντες, ἄρτι δ' ἐκ παίδων ἐξεληλυθότες ἔγνωσαν ἃ πολλοὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
290 οὐκ ἴσασιν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ὀρθῶς καὶ πρεπόντως προεστῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ καλὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ βίου ποιούμενον αὑτοῦ πρότερον ἢ τῶν αὑτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ μὴ σπεύδειν μηδὲ ζητεῖν ἑτέρων ἄρχειν πρὶν ἂν τῆς αὑτοῦ διανοίας λάβῃ τὸν ἐπιστατήσοντα, μηδ' οὕτω χαίρειν μηδὲ

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[a] The ransom of slaves captured in war. Isocrates is probably thinking of some notorious case.

[b] The mina = 100 drachmas. A drachma was the standard wage of a day-labourer.

ing in taverns; others, tossing dice in gambling dens; and many, hanging about the training-schools of the flute-girls.

And as for those who encourage them in these things, no one of those who profess to be concerned for our youth has ever haled them before you for trial, but instead they persecute me, who, whatever else I may deserve, do at any rate deserve thanks for this, that I discourage such habits in my pupils.

But so inimical to all the world is this race of sycophants that when men pay a ransom [a] of a hundred and thirty minae [b] for women who bid fair to help them make away with the rest of their property besides, so far from reproaching them, they actually rejoice in their extravagance; but when men spend any amount, however small, upon their education, they complain that they are being corrupted. Could any charge be more unjust than this against our students? For, while in the prime of vigour, when most men of their age are most inclined to indulge their passions, they have disdained a life of pleasure; when they might have saved expense and lived softly, they have elected to pay out money and submit to toil; and, though hardly emerged from boyhood, they have come to appreciate what most of their elders do not know, namely, that if one is to govern his youth rightly and worthily and make the proper start in life, he must give more heed to himself than to his possessions, he must not hasten and seek to rule over others [c] before he has found a master to direct his own thoughts, and he must not take as great pleasure or pride in other advantages

[c] *Cf. To Nicocles* 29; Plato, *Gorgias* 491.

μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὴν παιδείαν ἐγγιγνομένοις. καί τοι τοὺς τοιούτῳ λογισμῷ κεχρημένους πῶς οὐκ ἐπαινεῖσθαι χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ψέγεσθαι, καὶ νομίζεσθαι βελτίστους εἶναι καὶ σωφρονεστάτους τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν;

291 Θαυμάζω δ' ὅσοι τοὺς μὲν φύσει δεινοὺς ὄντας εἰπεῖν εὐδαιμονίζουσιν ὡς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ καλοῦ πράγματος αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκότος, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους γενέσθαι βουλομένους λοιδοροῦσιν ὡς ἀδίκου καὶ κακοῦ παιδεύματος ἐπιθυμοῦντας. καί τοι τί τῶν φύσει καλῶν ὄντων μελέτῃ κατεργασθὲν αἰσχρὸν ἢ κακόν ἐστιν; οὐδὲν γὰρ εὑρήσομεν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἔν γε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς ταῖς φιλοπονίαις ταῖς αὑτῶν ἀγαθόν τι κτήσασθαι δυνηθέντας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων
292 παραλαβόντας, εἰκότως· συμφέρει γὰρ ἐπί τε τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων, μὴ τὰς εὐτυχίας ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιμελείας εὐδοκιμεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τύχῃ δεινοὶ γενόμενοι λέγειν οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀποβλέπουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν τύχωσιν, οὕτω χρῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις εἰώθασιν· οἱ δὲ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ λογισμῷ τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην λαβόντες, οὐδὲν ἀσκέπτως λέγοντες, ἧττον περὶ τὰς πράξεις πλημμελοῦσιν.

293 Ὥσθ' ἅπασι μὲν βούλεσθαι προσήκει πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ παιδείας δεινοὺς εἰπεῖν γιγνομένους, μάλιστα δ' ὑμῖν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ προέχετε καὶ διαφέρετε τῶν ἄλλων οὐ ταῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείαις, οὐδ' ὅτι κάλλιστα πολιτεύεσθε καὶ μάλιστα φυλάττετε τοὺς νόμους οὓς ὑμῖν οἱ

as in the good things which spring up in the soul under a liberal education. I ask you, then, when young men have governed themselves by these principles, ought they not to be praised rather than censured, ought they not to be recognized as the best and the most sober-minded among their fellows?

I marvel at men who felicitate those who are eloquent by nature on being blessed with a noble gift, and yet rail at those who wish to become eloquent, on the ground that they desire an immoral and debasing education. Pray, what that is noble by nature becomes shameful and base when one attains it by effort? We shall find that there is no such thing, but that, on the contrary, we praise, at least in other fields, those who by their own devoted toil are able to acquire some good thing more than we praise those who inherit it from their ancestors. And rightly so; for it is well that in all activities, and most of all in the art of speaking, credit is won, not by gifts of fortune, but by efforts of study. For men who have been gifted with eloquence by nature and by fortune, are governed in what they say by chance, and not by any standard of what is best, whereas those who have gained this power by the study of philosophy and by the exercise of reason never speak without weighing their words, and so are less often in error as to a course of action.

Therefore, it behoves all men to want to have many of their youth engaged in training to become speakers, and you Athenians most of all. For you, yourselves, are pre-eminent and superior to the rest of the world, not in your application to the business of war, nor because you govern yourselves more excellently or preserve the laws handed down to you

πρόγονοι κατέλιπον, ἀλλὰ τούτοις οἷς περ ἡ φύσις ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, καὶ τὸ γένος
294 τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν βαρβάρων, τῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἄμεινον πεπαιδεῦσθαι τῶν ἄλλων. ὥστε πάντων ἂν συμβαίη δεινότατον, εἰ τοὺς βουλομένους τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν, οἷς περ ὑμεῖς ἁπάντων, διαφθείρεσθαι ψηφίσαισθε, καὶ τοὺς τῇ παιδείᾳ ταύτῃ χρωμένους, ἧς ὑμεῖς ἡγεμόνες γεγένησθε, συμφορᾷ τινι περιβάλοιτε.

295 Χρὴ γὰρ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι πάντων τῶν δυναμένων λέγειν ἢ παιδεύειν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν δοκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκαλος. εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ ἆθλα μέγιστα τιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ὁρῶσι τοῖς τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην ἔχουσι, καὶ γυμνάσια πλεῖστα καὶ παντοδαπώτατα παρέχουσαν τοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι προῃρημένοις καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα[1] γυμνάζεσθαι
296 βουλομένοις, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ἥ περ μάλιστα ποιεῖ δύνασθαι λέγειν, ἐνθένδε πάντας λαμβάνοντας· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς κοινότητα καὶ μετριότητα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐτραπελίαν καὶ φιλολογίαν οὐ μικρὸν ἡγοῦνται συμβαλέσθαι μέρος πρὸς τὴν τῶν λόγων παιδείαν· ὥστ᾽ οὐκ ἀδίκως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἅπαντας τοὺς λέγειν ὄντας δεινοὺς τῆς πόλεως εἶναι μαθητάς.

297 Σκοπεῖτ᾽ οὖν μὴ παντάπασιν ᾖ καταγέλαστον

[1] τὰ τοιαῦτα Havet: τὰς τοιαύτας MSS.

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[a] *Cf. Nicocles* 6. [b] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology* 29 D.

[c] *Cf. Paneg.* 48 ff. See Havet's enthusiastic comment in Cartelier's *Antidosis* p. lviii. *Cf.* also Thuc. ii. 41 ; vii. 63.

[d] The Attic "dialect" was the least provincial of all, avoiding the extreme harshness of the Doric and the softness

by your ancestors more faithfully than others, but in those qualities by which the nature of man rises above the other animals,[a] and the race of the Hellenes above the barbarians, namely, in the fact that you have been educated as have been no other people in wisdom and in speech.[b] So, then, nothing more absurd could happen than for you to declare by your votes that students who desire to excel their companions in those very qualities in which you excel mankind, are being corrupted, and to visit any misfortune upon them for availing themselves of an education in which you have become the leaders of the world.

For you must not lose sight of the fact that Athens is looked upon as having become a school [c] for the education of all able orators and teachers of oratory. And naturally so; for people observe that she holds forth the greatest prizes for those who have this ability, that she offers the greatest number and variety of fields of exercise to those who have chosen to enter contests of this character and want to train for them, and that, furthermore, everyone obtains here that practical experience which more than any other thing imparts ability to speak; and, in addition to these advantages, they consider that the catholicity and moderation of our speech,[d] as well as our flexibility of mind and love of letters, contribute in no small degree to the education of the orator. Therefore they suppose, and not without just reason, that all clever speakers are the disciples of Athens.

Beware, then, lest it make you utterly ridiculous

of the Ionic, and tended to be more and more the language of cultivated Greeks, until in the time of Alexander the Great it had broadened into the "common dialect," ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος.

τῆς δόξης ταύτης φλαῦρόν τι καταγιγνώσκειν, ἣν
ὑμεῖς ἔχετε παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ
ἐγὼ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ φανερῶς ὑμῶν
αὐτῶν ἔσεσθε κατεψηφισμένοι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀ-
298 δικίαν, καὶ πεποιηκότες ὅμοιον ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι τοὺς τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκοῦντας
ζημιοῦν ἐπιχειροῖεν, ἢ Θετταλοὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱππεύειν
μελετώντων δίκην λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῖεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν
φυλακτέον ἐστίν, ὅπως μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐξαμαρ-
τήσεσθε περὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, μηδὲ πιστοτέρους
ποιήσετε τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τῶν κατηγορούντων
τῆς πόλεως ἢ τοὺς τῶν ἐπαινούντων.

299 Οἶμαι δ᾽ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ
μὲν δυσκόλως πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ὡς οἷόντε
μάλιστα φιλοῦσι καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας
ἐν ὑμῖν ἔχουσι. καί φασιν οἱ μὲν τοιοῦτοι μόνην
εἶναι ταύτην πόλιν, τὰς δ᾽ ἄλλας κώμας, καὶ
δικαίως ἂν αὐτὴν ἄστυ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προσαγο-
ρεύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας
τὰς ἐνθένδε τοῖς ἄλλοις γιγνομένας καὶ μάλιστα
300 διὰ τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἐνοικούντων· οὐδένας γὰρ
εἶναι πραοτέρους οὐδὲ κοινοτέρους οὐδ᾽ οἷς οἰκειό-
τερον ἄν τις τὸν ἅπαντα βίον συνδιατρίψειεν.
οὕτω δὲ μεγάλαις χρῶνται ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, ὥστ᾽
οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ὀκνοῦσι λέγειν, ὡς ἥδιον ἂν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς
Ἀθηναίου ζημιωθεῖεν ἢ διὰ τῆς ἑτέρων ὠμότητος
εὖ πάθοιεν.

Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν διασύρουσι, διεξιόντες δὲ τὰς
τῶν συκοφαντῶν πικρότητας καὶ κακοπραγίας
ὅλης τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀμίκτου καὶ χαλεπῆς οὔσης
κατηγοροῦσιν.

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[a] The best cavalrymen in Greece.

to pronounce a disparaging judgement upon the reputation which you have among the Hellenes even more than I have among you. Manifestly, by such an unjust verdict, you would be passing sentence upon yourselves. It would be as if the Lacedaemonians were to attempt to penalize men for training themselves in preparation for war, or as if the Thessalians[a] saw fit to punish men for practising the art of horsemanship. Take care, therefore, not to do yourselves this wrong and not to lend support to the slanders of the enemies of Athens rather than to the eulogies of her friends.

I think that you are not unaware that while some of the Hellenes are hostile to you, some are extremely friendly, and rest their hopes of security upon you. These say that Athens is the only city, the others being mere villages, and that she deserves to be termed the capital of Hellas both because of her size and because of the resources which she furnishes to the rest of the world, and most of all because of the character of her inhabitants; for no people, they insist, are more kindly or more sociable,[b] nor could anyone find any people with whom he could spend all his days in friendlier intercourse. Indeed, so extravagant are they in their praise that they do not even hesitate to say that they would rather suffer injury at the hands of an Athenian gentleman than benefit through the rudeness of people from another city.[c]

There are, on the other hand, those who scoff at this praise, and, dwelling upon the cruel and iniquitous practices of the sycophants, denounce the whole city as savage and insupportable.

[b] *Cf. Paneg.* 41. [c] The Spartans.

301 Ἔστιν οὖν δικαστῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων τοὺς μὲν τῶν
τοιούτων λόγων αἰτίους γιγνομένους ἀποκτείνειν
ὡς μεγάλην αἰσχύνην τῇ πόλει περιποιοῦντας,
τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐπαίνων τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτῆς
μέρος τι συμβαλλομένους τιμᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς
ἀθλητὰς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι νικῶντας·
πολὺ γὰρ καλλίω δόξαν ἐκείνων κτώμενοι τῇ
302 πόλει τυγχάνουσι καὶ μᾶλλον ἁρμόττουσαν. περὶ
μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀγωνίαν πολλοὺς τοὺς
ἀμφισβητοῦντας ἔχομεν, περὶ δὲ τὴν παιδείαν
ἅπαντες ἂν ἡμᾶς πρωτεύειν προκρίνειαν. χρὴ δὲ
τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ[1] λογίζεσθαι δυναμένους τοὺς ἐν
τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἔργων διαφέροντας, ἐν οἷς ἡ
πόλις εὐδοκιμεῖ, τιμῶντας φαίνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ
φθονερῶς ἔχειν, μηδ' ἐναντία τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι
γιγνώσκειν περὶ αὐτῶν.

303 Ὧν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν πώποτ' ἐμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον
διημαρτήκατε τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὥσθ' ἥδιον ἔχετε
δι' οὓς ἀκούετε κακῶς ἢ δι' οὓς ἐπαινεῖσθε, καὶ
δημοτικωτέρους εἶναι νομίζετε τοὺς τοῦ μισεῖσθαι
τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ πολλῶν αἰτίους ὄντας, ἢ τοὺς
ἅπαντας οἷς πεπλησιάκασιν εὖ διακεῖσθαι πρὸς
αὐτὴν πεποιηκότας.

304 Ἢν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τῆς μὲν ταραχῆς παύσεσθε
ταύτης, οὐχ οὕτω δ' ὥσπερ νῦν οἱ μὲν τραχέως οἱ
δ' ὀλιγώρως διακείσεσθε πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν,
ἀλλ' ὑπολαβόντες κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ σπουδαιό-
τατον τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπι-
μέλειαν, προτρέψετε τῶν νεωτέρων τοὺς βίον ἱκα-
νὸν κεκτημένους καὶ σχολὴν ἄγειν δυναμένους ἐπὶ
305 τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν τὴν τοιαύτην, καὶ

[1] τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ Baiter: τοὺς μικρὰ MSS.

It is, therefore, the duty of intelligent judges to destroy those who heap infamy upon the city and to reward those who are responsible in some degree for the tributes paid to her, more than you reward the athletes who are crowned in the great games, seeing that they win for the city a greater and more fitting glory than any athlete;[a] for in contests of the body we have many rivals; but in the training of the mind everyone would concede that we stand first. And men with even a slight ability to reason ought to show the world that they reward those who excel in those activities for which the city is renowned, and they ought not to envy them nor hold an opinion of them which is the opposite of the esteem in which they are held by the rest of the Hellenes.

But you have never troubled yourselves to do this; nay, you have so far mistaken your true interests that you are more pleased with those who cause you to be reviled than with those who cause you to be praised, and you think that those who have made many people hate the city are better friends of the demos than those who have inspired good will toward Athens in all with whom they have had to deal.

If, however, you are wise, you will put an end to this confusion, and you will not continue, as now, to take either a hostile or a contemptuous view of philosophy; on the contrary, you will conceive that the cultivation of the mind is the noblest and worthiest of pursuits and you will urge our young men who have sufficient means and who are able to take the time for it to embrace an education and a training of this sort. And when

[a] See *Paneg.* 1; Plato, *Apology* 36 D.

τοὺς μὲν πονεῖν ἐθέλοντας καὶ παρασκευάζειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς χρησίμους τῇ πόλει περὶ πολλοῦ ποιήσεσθε, τοὺς δὲ καταβεβλημένως ζῶντας καὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζοντας πλὴν ὅπως ἀσελγῶς ἀπολαύσονται τῶν καταλειφθέντων, τούτους δὲ μισήσετε καὶ προδότας νομιεῖτε καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης· μόλις γὰρ ἢν οὕτως ὑμᾶς αἴσθωνται πρὸς ἑκατέρους αὐτῶν διακειμένους, ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ νεώτεροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ῥᾳθυμίας προσέχειν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ τὸν νοῦν.

306 Ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων τῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις πεπραγμένων, καὶ διέλθετε πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ σκέψασθε ποῖός τις ἦν καὶ πῶς γεγονὼς καὶ τίνα τρόπον πεπαιδευμένος ὁ τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καταγαγὼν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσας, ποῖος δέ τις ὁ τοὺς βαρβάρους Μαραθῶνι τῇ μάχῃ νικήσας καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐκ
307 ταύτης γενομένην τῇ πόλει κτησάμενος, τίς δ' ἦν ὁ μετ' ἐκεῖνον τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθερώσας καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν ἣν ἔσχον προαγαγών, ἔτι δὲ τὴν φύσιν τὴν τοῦ Πειραιέως κατιδὼν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀκόντων Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ πόλει περιβαλών, τίς δὲ ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐμπλήσας καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους μεστοὺς
308 πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ πλούτου ποιήσας· εὑρήσετε

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[a] Cleisthenes. [b] Miltiades.

[c] At the close of the Persian Wars, the Athenians returned to their city and, under the leadership of Themistocles, against the protest of the Lacedaemonians, built strong

they are willing to work hard and to prepare themselves to be of service to the city, you will make much of them; but when they give themselves to loose living and care for nothing else than to enjoy riotously what their fathers left to them, you will despise them and look upon them as false to the city and to the good name of their ancestors. For it will be hard enough, even though you show such an attitude of mind in either case, to get our youth to look down upon a life of ease and be willing to give their minds to their own improvement and to philosophy.

But reflect upon the glory and the greatness of the deeds wrought by our city and our ancestors, review them in your minds and consider what kind of man was he, what was his birth and what the character of his education, who expelled the tyrants, brought the people into their own, and established our democratic state;[a] what sort was he who conquered the barbarians in the battle at Marathon and won for the city the glory which has come to Athens from this victory;[b] what was he who after him liberated the Hellenes and led our forefathers forth to the leadership and power which they achieved, and who, besides, appreciating the natural advantage of the Piraeus, girded the city with walls in despite of the Lacedaemonians;[c] and what manner of man was he who after him filled the Acropolis with gold and silver and made the homes of the Athenians to overflow with prosperity and wealth:[d] for you will find if you review the career

walls around Athens and around the harbour-town, the Piraeus. Later these two walled towns were connected by the building of the "long walls."

[d] Pericles. See 232-234, where all these, except Miltiades, are eulogized by name.

γάρ, ἢν ἐξετάζητε τούτων ἕκαστον, οὐ τοὺς συκοφαντικῶς βεβιωκότας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμελῶς, οὐδὲ τοὺς τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁμοίους ὄντας, ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς διαφέροντας καὶ προέχοντας μὴ μόνον ταῖς εὐγενείαις καὶ ταῖς δόξαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν, τούτους ἁπάντων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους γεγενημένους.

309 Ὧν εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνθυμουμένους ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ πλήθους τοῦτο σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἔν τε τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων τῶν δικαίων τεύξονται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κοινῶν μεθέξουσι, τοὺς δ' ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς μελέταις, καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους γενέσθαι προθυμουμένους, ἀγαπᾶν καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι καὶ τὸ καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἡγήσασθαι πραγμάτων καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων σῴζειν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν διαφυλάττειν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔνεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς συκοφάνταις.

310 Πολλῶν δ' ἐφεστώτων μοι λόγων ἀπορῶ πῶς
[343] αὐτοὺς διαθῶμαι· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι καθ' αὑτὸ μὲν ἕκαστον ὧν διανοοῦμαι ῥηθὲν ἐπιεικὲς ἂν φανῆναι, πάντα δὲ νυνὶ λεγόμενα πολὺν ἂν ὄχλον ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσι παρασχεῖν. ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἤδη προειρημένων δέδοικα, μὴ τοιοῦτόν τι πάθος
311 αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τυγχάνῃ συμβεβηκός. οὕτω γὰρ ἀπλήστως ἅπαντες ἔχομεν περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὥστ' ἐπαινοῦμεν μὲν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν καὶ φαμὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ἐπειδὰν δ' οἰηθῶμεν ὡς ἔχομέν τι λέγειν, ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ μετριάζειν, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀεὶ προστιθέντες εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας

of each of these, that it was not those who lived unscrupulously or negligently nor those who did not stand out from the multitude who accomplished these things, but that it was men who were superior and pre-eminent, not only in birth and reputation, but in wisdom and eloquence, who have been the authors of all our blessings.

You ought to lay this lesson to heart and, while seeing to it in behalf of the mass of the people that they shall obtain their just rights in the trials of their personal disputes and that they shall have their due share of the other privileges which are common to all, you ought, on the other hand, to welcome and honour and cherish those who stand out from the multitude both in ability and in training and those who aspire to such eminence, since you know that leadership in great and noble enterprises, and the power to keep the city safe from danger and to preserve the rule of the people, rests with such men, and not with the sycophants.

Many ideas crowd into my thoughts, but I do not know how I can make place for them; for it seems to me that while every point which I have in mind would appeal to you if I presented it by itself, yet if I attempted to discuss them all at this time, I should put too great a strain both upon myself and upon my hearers. Indeed I fear that in what I have already said to you I may have fatigued you by speaking at such length. For we are all so insatiable in discourse that while we prize due measure and affirm that there is nothing so precious, yet when we think that we have something of importance to say, we throw moderation to the winds, and go on adding point after point until little by little we involve our-

ἀκαιρίας ἐμβάλλομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς· ὅπου γε καὶ λέγων ἐγὼ ταῦτα καὶ γιγνώσκων, ὅμως ἔτι
312 βούλομαι διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἀγανακτῶ γὰρ
[344] ὁρῶν τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἄμεινον τῆς φιλοσοφίας φερομένην, καὶ τὴν μὲν κατηγοροῦσαν, τὴν δὲ κρινομένην. ὃ τίς ἂν τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν
313 τοῖς ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ μεῖζον τῶν ἄλλων φρονοῦσιν; οὔκουν ἐπί γε τῶν προγόνων οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν καλουμένους σοφιστὰς ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτοῖς ἐζήλουν, τοὺς δὲ συκοφάντας πλείστων κακῶν αἰτίους ἐνόμιζον εἶναι.

Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον· Σόλωνα μὲν γάρ, τὸν πρῶτον τῶν πολιτῶν λαβόντα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, προστάτην ἠξίωσαν τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν συκοφαντῶν χαλεπωτέρους ἢ περὶ
314 τῶν ἄλλων κακουργιῶν τοὺς νόμους ἔθεσαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ μεγίστοις τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐν ἑνὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησαν, κατὰ δὲ τούτων γραφὰς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας, εἰσαγγελίας δ' εἰς τὴν βουλήν, προβολὰς δ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, νομίζοντες τοὺς ταύτῃ τῇ τέχνῃ χρωμένους ἁπάσας ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς πονηρίας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἀλλ'
315 οὖν πειρᾶσθαί γε λανθάνειν κακουργοῦντας, τούτους δ' ἐν ἅπασιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν αὑτῶν ὠμότητα καὶ μισανθρωπίαν καὶ φιλαπεχθημοσύνην.

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[a] For example, a charge of deliberate murder could come only before the Court of the Areopagus. A charge against the sycophants, on the other hand, could be brought before the Thesmothetae (see 237, note), who prepared the case for trial before a Heliastic Court, in which case the charge was termed γραφή (indictment); or before the Senate of

selves in utter irrelevancies. Why, at the very moment that I say this and recognize its truth, I desire, nevertheless, to speak to you at greater length! For I am grieved to see the sycophant's trade faring better than philosophy—the one attacking, the other on the defensive. Who of the men of old could have anticipated that things would come to this pass, in Athens, of all places, where we more than others plume ourselves on our wisdom? Things were not like that in the time of our ancestors; on the contrary, they admired the sophists, as they called them, and envied the good fortune of their disciples, while they blamed the sycophants for most of their ills.

You will find the strongest proof of this in the fact that they saw fit to put Solon, who was the first of the Athenians to receive the title of sophist, at the head of the state, while they applied to the sycophants more stringent laws than to other criminals; for, while they placed the trial of the greatest crimes in the hands of a single one of the courts,[a] against the sycophants they instituted indictments before the Thesmothetae, impeachments before the Senate, and plaints before the General Assembly, believing that those who plied this trade exceeded all other forms of villainy; for other criminals, at any rate, try to keep their evil-doing under cover, while these flaunt their brutality, their misanthropy, and their contentiousness before the eyes of all.

the Five Hundred, in which case the charge was called εἰσαγγελία (impeachment); or before the General Assembly, in which case the charge was termed προβολή (plaint). See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* pp. 176 ff. This was, however, true of so many crimes that the point of Isocrates is rather rhetorical.

Κἀκεῖνοι μὲν οὕτως ἐγίγνωσκον περὶ αὐτῶν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχετε τοῦ κολάζειν αὐτούς, ὥστε τούτοις χρῆσθε καὶ κατηγόροις καὶ νομοθέταις περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. καί τοι προσῆκεν αὐτοὺς νῦν μισεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον.
316 τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μόνον καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔβλαπτον τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους· ἐπειδὴ δ' αὐξηθείσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ λαβούσης τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, μᾶλλον θαρρήσαντες τοῦ συμφέροντος, τοῖς μὲν καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγάλην τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασι διὰ τὰς δυναστείας ἐφθόνησαν, πονηρῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων
317 καὶ μεστῶν θρασύτητος ἐπεθύμησαν, οἰηθέντες ταῖς μὲν τόλμαις καὶ ταῖς φιλαπεχθημοσύναις ἱκανοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι διαφυλάττειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν φαυλότητα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς ὑπαρξάντων οὐ μέγα φρονήσειν οὐδ' ἐπιθυμήσειν ἑτέρας πολιτείας.

Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μεταβολῆς τί τῶν δεινῶν οὐ συνέπεσε τῇ πόλει, τί δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν
[345] οἱ ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν φύσιν οὐ καὶ λέγοντες καὶ
318 πράττοντες διετέλεσαν; οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἐνδοξοτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μάλιστα δυναμένους ποιῆσαί τι τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν, ὀλιγαρχίαν ὀνειδίζοντες καὶ

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[a] The term sycophant is applied here as elsewhere in Isocrates and the other orators to demagogic politicians.

[b] From the time of the "reforms" of Ephialtes (see *Areop.* 50: τοῖς ὀλίγῳ πρὸ ἡμῶν), and especially after the death of Pericles. Aristotle (*Const. of Athens* 28) states: "So long, however, as Pericles was leader of the people, things went tolerably well with the State; but when he was dead there was a great change for the worse. Then for the first time did the people choose a leader who was of no reputation among the people of good standing, whereas

That was the way our ancestors felt about them. But you, so far from punishing the sycophants,[a] actually set them up as accusers and legislators for the rest of the people. And yet there is reason for detesting them now more than at that time; for then it was only in matters of ordinary routine and in affairs confined to the city that they damaged their countrymen. In the meantime, however, the city waxed powerful and seized the empire of the Hellenes, and our fathers,[b] growing more self-assured than was meet for them, began to look with disfavour on those good men and true who had made Athens great, envying them their power, and to crave instead men who were base-born and full of insolence, thinking that by their bravado and contentiousness they would be able to preserve the rule of the people,[c] while because of the meanness of their origin they would not become overweening nor ambitious[d] to overturn the constitution.

And since this change has taken place, what calamity has not been visited upon the city? What great misfortunes have these depraved natures failed to bring to pass through their speech and through their actions? Have they not taunted the most illustrious of the Athenians—the men who were the best able to benefit the city—with oligarchical and

up to this time men of good standing were always found as leaders of the democracy" (Kenyon's translation). Aristotle goes on to say that Pericles was followed by such leaders as Cleon, the tanner—insolent demagogues who vied with each other in pandering to the mob.

[c] That is, vigilance exercised by loud-mouthed demagogues is the price of liberty.

[d] *Cf.* Dem. *Περὶ συντάξεως* 173: *ἔστι δ' οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι, δυνατὸν μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράττοντας μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν.*

λακωνισμόν, οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἠνάγκασαν ὁμοίους γενέσθαι ταῖς αἰτίαις ταῖς λεγομέναις περὶ αὐτῶν; τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους λυμαινόμενοι καὶ συκοφαντοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους ἐκ τῶν ὄντων ἐκβάλλοντες, οὕτω διέθεσαν ὥσθ' ἡμῶν μὲν ἀποστῆναι, τῆς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων

319 ἐρασθῆναι φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας; ἐξ ὧν εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντες πολλοὺς ἐπείδομεν τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς μὲν τελευτήσαντας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενομένους, τοὺς δ' εἰς ἔνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καταστάντας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν δὶς καταλυθεῖσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος κατασκαφέντα, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύσασαν καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰκήσαντας.

320 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἰσθάνομαι, καίπερ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς βίᾳ φερόμενος, τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ ἡμᾶς ἐπιλεῖπον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐμπεπτωκὼς εἰς λόγους ἡμερησίους καὶ κατηγορίας. ὑπερβὰς οὖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμφορῶν τῶν διὰ τούτους γεγενημένων, καὶ διωσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον τῶν ἐνόντων εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς τούτων συκοφαντίας, μικρῶν ἔτι πάνυ μνησθεὶς ἤδη καταλύσω τὸν λόγον.

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[a] The Athenian democracy since the days of Cleisthenes lived in continual fear of revolution. There remained a strong oligarchical party, supported by Sparta, and it was always easy to catch the ear of the Athenian demos by accusing anyone of oligarchical or Spartan sympathies. *Cf. Peace* 133.

[b] Is he thinking particularly of Alcibiades?

[c] *Cf. Panath.* 13 and 142.

[d] The Peloponnesian War.

[e] First by the oligarchy of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., secondly by the oligarchy of the Thirty Tyrants in 404 B.C., after the downfall of the Athenian Empire.

Lacedaemonian sympathies,[a] and never ceased until they have driven them to become in fact what they were charged with being? [b] Have they not by ill-treating our allies, by lodging false complaints against them,[c] by stripping the best of them of their possessions—have they not so disaffected them that they have revolted against us and craved the friendship and alliance of the Lacedaemonians? And with what results? We have been plunged into war [d]; we have seen many of our fellow-countrymen suffer, some of them dying in battle, some made prisoners of war, and others reduced to the last extremities of want; we have seen the democracy twice overthrown,[e] the walls which defended our country torn down [f]; and, worst of all, we have seen the whole city in peril of being enslaved,[g] and our enemy encamped on the Acropolis.[h]

But I perceive, even though my feelings carry me away, that the water in the clock [i] is giving out, while I myself have fallen into thoughts and recriminations which would exhaust the day. Therefore, I pass over the multitude of calamities which these men have brought upon us; I thrust aside the throng of offences which we might charge to their infamy, and content myself with just one word before I close.

[f] One of the terms of peace at the end of the war was that the "long walls" connecting Athens with the Piraeus should be torn down.

[g] After her surrender to Sparta and the allies of Sparta at the close of the Peloponnesian War. See *Areop.* 6 and note; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 19-20. *Cf. Peace* 78, 105; *Plataicus* 23.

[h] A Spartan garrison occupied the Acropolis during the reign of the Thirty.

[i] The clepsydra or water-clock, which marked the time allowed to each speaker.

321 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ὁρῶ τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας, ἐπειδὰν περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ὦσι τῆς ἀπολογίας, ἱκετεύοντας, δεομένους, τοὺς παῖδας, τοὺς φίλους ἀναβιβαζομένους· ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε πρέπειν οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι τῶν τοιούτων τοῖς τηλικούτοις, πρός τε τῷ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, αἰσχυνθείην ἄν, εἰ δι' ἄλλο τι σῳζοίμην ἢ διὰ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς προειρημένους. οἶδα γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν οὕτως ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως κεχρημένον αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς προγόνους καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς θεούς, ὥστε, εἴ τι μέλει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων αὐτοῖς πραγ-
322 μάτων, οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν περὶ ἐμὲ γιγνομένων οὐδὲν
[346] αὐτοὺς οἶμαι λανθάνειν. διόπερ οὐκ ὀρρωδῶ τὸ μέλλον συμβήσεσθαι παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶ καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω τότε μοι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν ἥξειν, ὅταν μέλλῃ συνοίσειν ἡμῖν, σημείῳ χρώμενος ὅτι καὶ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον οὕτω τυγχάνω βεβιωκὼς μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥς περ προσήκει τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ θεοφιλεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

323 Ὡς οὖν ἐμοῦ ταύτην ἔχοντος τὴν γνώμην, καὶ νομίζοντος ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῖν δόξῃ, τοῦθ' ἕξειν μοι καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως, ὅπως ἕκαστος ὑμῶν χαίρει καὶ βούλεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον φερέτω τὴν ψῆφον.

I observe that when others who are placed in jeopardy here come to the end of their defence, they supplicate, they implore, they bring their children and their friends before the jury.[a] I, however, consider that such expedients are unbecoming to one of my age; and, apart from this feeling, I should be ashamed to owe my life to any other plea than to the words which you have just heard. For I know that I have spoken with so just and clear a conscience both towards the city and our ancestors, and above all towards the gods, that if it be true that the gods concern themselves at all with human affairs I am sure that they are not indifferent to my present situation. Wherefore, I have no fear of what may come to me at your hands; nay, I am of good courage and have every confidence that when I close my life it will be when it is best for me; for I take it as a good sign that all my past life up to this day has been such as is the due of righteous and god-fearing men.

Being assured, therefore, that I am of this mind, and that I believe that whatever you decide will be for my good and to my advantage, let each one cast his vote as he pleases and is inclined.[b]

[a] These pathetic scenes were a stock device in the court room—ridiculed by Aristophanes in the *Wasps*. *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1354 a. Isocrates here echoes Plato, *Apology* 34 c.

[b] *Cf.* Plato's *Apology* 35 D.

V. THE PANATHENAICUS

INTRODUCTION

The *Panathenaicus* is the last of the "orations" of Isocrates and the last of his extant writings, excepting the brief letter to Philip.[a] He began it in his ninety-fourth year,[b] apparently not long before the celebration of the Greek Panathenaic Festival in the month Hecatombaeon (July-August), 342 B.C.[c] He was moved to undertake this ambitious discourse at such an age partly by an impulse to justify himself against recent criticisms which had wounded his pride,[d] but mainly by a desire to publish, probably on the occasion of the approaching Festival,[e] a last testimonial to the glory of Athens [f]—her generous pan-Hellenism in days past in contrast to the selfish parochialism of Sparta.[g] He was not, however, able to publish this encomium as a contribution to that celebration. When it was half finished, his work was interrupted by a severe and lasting illness,[h] and it was not until three years later, when—to use his own words—he "had lived but three years less than a century," that he was prevailed upon by the importunities of his friends to rise above his weakness and complete the discourse.[i] The *Panathenaicus* was, therefore, issued

[a] *Epist.* iii. [b] See 3.
[c] See 17 and Jebb, *Attic Orators* ii. p. 113.
[d] See 19, 25. [e] Hence the title, *Panathenaicus*.
[f] See General Introd. pp. ix, x, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.
[g] See 5, 35, 41. [h] 267, 268. [i] 268-270.

in 339 B.C., when the author was ninety-seven years old.

It is not, then, surprising that the *Panathenaicus* betrays the uncertain grasp of a trembling hand. It is surprising, rather, when we consider that much of the work of Isocrates was done after he had passed his eightieth year, that this discourse is the first to show the effects of old age. The *Peace* and the *Areopagiticus*, produced when he was eighty-one, are among the most spirited and forceful of his writings ; the *Antidosis*, published in the following year, shows a firm grasp in the handling of the subject ; the *Philip* and the *Archidamus*, both issued in his ninetieth year, bear no marks of senility ; on the contrary, the *Archidamus*, particularly, reads like the production of a youthful mind.[a] But the *Panathenaicus* gives evidence of the handicaps under which it was elaborated—that it was written " at a time of life and in a state of health wherein any one else, so far from attempting to compose anything of his own, would not be willing even to listen to a discourse worked out and submitted by another." [b]

At the beginning of the discourse, Isocrates warns his audience that it may appear " more feeble " than his early compositions because of its lack of the adornments of style.[c] But it is not in this regard mainly that the *Panathenaicus* is weaker than his other work. In fact it is not lacking in rhetorical devices, although these are less skilfully employed.[d] But it is even more deficient in invention, arrangement and force. There is little said in the *Panathenaicus* which is not

[a] See Introd. to the *Archidamus*, Vol. I., L.C.L.
[b] See 270 ; General Introd. p. ix.
[c] See 4.
[d] See 86, 87, and note.

better said in his other writings. The matter dealt with in the introduction—the exposition and defence of his teaching and writing against his detractors—is more effectively covered in the *Antidosis*, and the glorification of the past history of Athens—his central theme—suffers by comparison with the treatment of the same subject in the *Panegyricus*, especially because of its diffuseness and repetition [a] and lack of consistency.[b]

In one respect, the eulogy of the city of his fathers in the *Panathenaicus* takes an original turn: in the sharp contrast drawn between the services of Athens to Greece and the disservices of Sparta.[c] Indeed this part of the discourse, lavish in its praises of Athens, is equally intemperate in its arraignment of Sparta. This Isocrates, himself, feels at the end. He regrets that in his review of Spartan history he had been offensively unjust,[d] and desires in some fashion to make amends to a state which now no less than when he wrote the *Panegyricus* he does not wish to repel from the cause of pan-Hellenism. But the device to which he resorts—the curious dialogue, if such may be termed the speeches which are exchanged between himself and one of his erstwhile pupils, who not only champions the Spartans but suggests that underneath the apparent abuse heaped upon them in this discourse there lies a hidden meaning which, if elucidated, is flattering to Spartan pride—has been, and will remain, one of the puzzles of literary criticism. There may, perhaps, be some foundation in fact for the "advice" [e] which Isocrates sought from his former pupils and received from that

[a] See 164, note.
[b] See 115, note.
[c] See 41.
[d] See 232.
[e] See 233.

one of them who made bold to be a "panegyrist"[a] of the Lacedaemonians. Or it may be—and this seems more probable—that he invents this fiction of a debate in order to show that he also could see the other side. In any case, this epilogue, if not bordering upon ineptitude, is the least felicitous part of a discourse which throughout falls below the level of his best work.

But surely it is invidious to pick flaws in what is, under the circumstances, a marvellous accomplishment. Does the history of mankind record a comparable triumph of the spirit over the infirmities of a centenarian?

[a] See 234.

ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΪΚΟΣ

[232] Νεώτερος μὲν ὢν προῃρούμην γράφειν τῶν λόγων οὐ τοὺς μυθώδεις οὐδὲ τοὺς τερατείας καὶ ψευδολογίας μεστούς, οἷς οἱ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον χαίρουσιν ἢ τοῖς περὶ τῆς αὑτῶν σωτηρίας λεγομένοις, οὐδὲ τοὺς τὰς παλαιὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἐξηγουμένους, καίπερ
[233] εἰδὼς δικαίως αὐτοὺς ἐπαινουμένους, οὐδ' αὖ τοὺς ἁπλῶς δοκοῦντας εἰρῆσθαι καὶ μηδεμιᾶς κομψότητος μετέχοντας, οὓς οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας παραινοῦσι τοῖς νεωτέροις μελετᾶν, εἴπερ
2 βούλονται πλέον ἔχειν τῶν ἀντιδίκων, ἀλλὰ πάντας τούτους ἐάσας περὶ ἐκείνους ἐπραγματευόμην, τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι συμβουλεύοντας, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἐνθυμημάτων γέμοντας, οὐκ ὀλίγων δ' ἀντιθέσεων

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[a] See General Introd. p. xxii. Yet he deals with the legend of Demeter in the *Panegyricus* and with that of Heracles in the *Address to Philip*, and, half playfully, he goes into the stories of Helen and Busiris in the discourses devoted to them. See General Introd. p. xxxi, Isocrates, Vol. I. in L.C.L.

[b] *Cf. Helen* 4 ff., Vol. III., L.C.L.

[c] See *Areop.* i.

[d] One of his pupils, Theopompus, was a historian. For Isocrates' attitude to the historians see Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii. p. 49.

V. PANATHENAICUS

When I was younger, I elected not to write the kind of discourse which deals with myths [a] nor that which abounds in marvels and fictions,[b] although the majority of people are more delighted with this literature than with that which is devoted to their welfare and safety ; [c] nor did I choose the kind which recounts the ancient deeds and wars of the Hellenes, although I am aware that this is deservedly praised,[d] nor, again, that which gives the impression of having been composed in a plain and simple manner and is lacking in all the refinements of style,[e] which those who are clever at conducting law-suits urge our young men to cultivate, especially if they wish to have the advantage over their adversaries.[f] No, I left all these to others and devoted my own efforts to giving advice on the true interests of Athens and of the rest of the Hellenes,[g] writing in a style rich in many telling points, in contrasted and balanced phrases not a few,[h]

[e] For the plain style affected by the forensic orators, notably Lysias, see Jebb, *Attic Orators* i. pp. 159 ff. *Cf. Paneg.* 11, Vol. I., L.C.L.

[f] Isocrates despised this kind of writing. See General Introd. p. xxiii.

[g] See General Introd. p. xxiv.

[h] The Gorgian figures, *antithesis* and *parisosis*, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus complained (*Critique of Isocrates* 14) were excessively used in the *Panegyricus* 71-81.

καὶ παρισώσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδεῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ῥητορείαις διαλαμπουσῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπισημαίνεσθαι καὶ θορυβεῖν ἀναγκαζουσῶν.

3 Νῦν δ' οὐδ' ὁπωσοῦν τοὺς τοιούτους. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ οὐχ ἁρμόττειν οὔτε τοῖς ἔτεσι τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέτταρσιν, ἀγὼ τυγχάνω γεγονώς, οὔθ' ὅλως τοῖς ἤδη πολιὰς ἔχουσιν, ἐκεῖνον τὸν τρόπον ἔτι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἅπαντες μὲν ἂν ἐλπίσειαν εἰ βουληθεῖεν, οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν δυνηθείη ῥᾳδίως πλὴν τῶν πονεῖν ἐθελόντων καὶ σφόδρα προσεχόντων τὸν νοῦν.

4 Τούτου δ' ἕνεκεν ταῦτα προεῖπον, ἵν' ἤν τισιν ὁ μέλλων δειχθήσεσθαι λόγος μαλακώτερος ὢν φαίνηται τῶν πρότερον διαδεδομένων, μὴ παραβάλλωσι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ποικιλίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτὸν κρίνωσι τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδοκιμασμένην.

5 Διαλέξομαι δὲ περί τε τῶν τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένων καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀρξάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμοὶ συμβεβηκότων· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ οἶμαι μᾶλλον κατεπείγειν. πειρώμενος γὰρ ἀναμαρτήτως ζῆν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλύπως, οὐδένα διαλέλοιπα χρόνον ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν ἀδοκίμων καὶ πονηρῶν διαβαλλόμενος, ὑπ' ἄλλων δέ τινων οὐχ οἷός εἰμι γιγνωσκόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτος ὑπολαμβανόμενος οἷον ἂν
6 παρ' ἑτέρων ἀκούσωσιν. βούλομαι οὖν προδιαλεχθῆναι περί τ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν οὕτω πρός

[a] See General Introd. pp. xiv and xxiv.

[b] An exaggeration. They abound in this discourse, but his earlier efforts were more ornate. *Cf. Phil.* 27, 28, Vol. I., L.C.L., and *Antid.* 195.

and in the other figures of speech which give brilliance to oratory [a] and compel the approbation and applause of the audience.

Now, however, I have completely given up these devices of rhetoric.[b] For I do not think it is becoming to the ninety-four years which I have lived nor, in general, to men whose hair has at length turned to grey [c] to continue to speak in this fashion, but rather in the manner which every man, should he so desire, would hope to command, although no man can easily attain it without hard work and close application.

I have said this at the beginning in order that if the discourse which is now about to be presented to the public should appear to some to be more feeble [d] than those which have been published in former years, they may not compare it in the matter of rhetorical variety and finish to my former compositions but may judge it in relation to the subject matter which I have deemed appropriate to the present occasion.

I intend to discuss the achievements of Athens and the virtues of our ancestors, although I shall not begin with them but with a statement of my personal experience, since it is more urgent, I think, to begin with this. For notwithstanding that I strive to live in a manner above reproach and without offence to others, I am continually being misrepresented by obscure and worthless sophists and being judged by the general public, not by what I really am, but by what they hear from others.[e] I wish, therefore, to preface my discussion with a word about myself and about those who have this attitude

[c] An echo of Plato, *Apology* 17.

[d] *Cf.* same apology in *Phil.* 149; *Antid.* 9; *Epist.* vi. 6, Vol. III., L.C.L.

[e] *Cf. Antid.* 4-8.

με διακειμένων, ἵν᾿ ἤν πως οἷός τε γένωμαι, τοὺς μὲν παύσω βλασφημοῦντας, τοὺς δ᾿ εἰδέναι ποιήσω περὶ ἃ τυγχάνω διατρίβων· ἢν γὰρ ταῦτα τῷ [234] λόγῳ δυνηθῶ διοικῆσαι κατὰ τρόπον, ἐλπίζω τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον αὐτός τε ἀλύπως διάξειν, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ μέλλοντι ῥηθήσεσθαι τοὺς παρόντας μᾶλλον προσέξειν τὸν νοῦν.

7 Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δὲ κατειπεῖν οὔτε τὴν νῦν ἐγγιγνομένην ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μοι ταραχήν, οὔτε τὴν ἀτοπίαν ὧν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων, οὔτ᾿ εἴ τι πράττω τῶν δεόντων. ἐγὼ γὰρ μετεσχηκὼς τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἅπαντες ἂν εὔξαιντο μεταλαβεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑγιείας οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχον, ἀλλ᾿ ἐναμίλλως τοῖς μάλιστα περὶ ἑκάτερον τούτων εὐτυχηκόσιν, ἔπειτα τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον εὐπορίας, ὥστε μηδενὸς πώποτ᾿ ἀπορῆσαι τῶν μετρίων μηδ᾿ ὧν ἄνθρωπος ἂν νοῦν
8 ἔχων ἐπιθυμήσειεν, ἔτι τοῦ μὴ τῶν καταβεβλημένων εἶς εἶναι μηδὲ τῶν κατημελημένων, ἀλλ᾿ ἐκείνων περὶ ὧν οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ μνησθεῖεν ἂν καὶ διαλεχθεῖεν ὡς σπουδαίων ὄντων, —τούτων ἁπάντων μοι συμβεβηκότων τῶν μὲν ὑπερβαλλόντως τῶν δ᾿ ἐξαρκούντως οὐκ ἀγαπῶ ζῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀλλ᾿ οὕτω τὸ γῆράς ἐστι δυσάρεστον καὶ μικρολόγον καὶ μεμψίμοιρον, ὥστε

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[a] For the "greatest goods" *cf.* Plato, *Laws* 631 c; Aristotle, *Rhetoric* i. 5; and Herrick's rendering of the famous Greek skolion:

> Health is the first good lent to men;
> A gentle disposition then;
> Next, to be rich by no by-wayes;
> Lastly, with friends t' enjoy our dayes.

towards me, in order that, if only it lies within my power to do so, I may put an end to the abuse of my calumniators and give to the public a clear understanding of the work to which I am devoted. For if I succeed in setting forth a true picture of this in my discourse, I hope not only that I myself may pass the rest of my days free from annoyance but that my present audience will give better attention to the discourse which is about to be delivered.

I am not going to hesitate to tell you frankly of the confusion which now comes into my thoughts, of the strangeness of my feelings on the present occasion, and of my perplexity as to whether I am doing anything to the purpose. For I have had my share of the greatest goods of life—the things which all men would pray the gods to have as their portion:[a] first of all, I have enjoyed health both of body and of soul, not in common degree, but in equal measure with those who have been most blessed in these respects;[b] secondly, I have been in comfortable circumstances, so that I have not lacked for any of the moderate satisfactions nor for those that a sensible man would desire; and, lastly, I have been ranked, not among those who are despised or ignored, but among those whom the most cultivated of the Hellenes will recall and talk about as men of consequence and worth. And yet, although I have been blessed with all these gifts, some in surpassing, others in sufficient measure, I am not content to live on these terms; on the contrary, my old age is so morose and captious and discontented that I have

[b] *Cf.* Bacchylides i. 27 ff. (i. 55 ff., Jebb's edition):

εἰ δ' ὑγιείας θνατὸς ἐὼν ἔλαχεν,
ζώειν τ' ἀπ' οἰκείων ἔχει, πρώτοις ἐρίζει.

πολλάκις ἤδη τήν τε φύσιν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ κατεμεμ-
9 ψάμην, ἧς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος καταπεφρόνηκε, καὶ τὴν
τύχην ὠδυράμην, ταύτῃ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἐπικαλεῖν
ἄλλο πλὴν ὅτι περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἣν προειλόμην
ἀτυχίαι τινὲς καὶ συκοφαντίαι γεγόνασι, τὴν δὲ
φύσιν εἰδὼς πρὸς μὲν τὰς πράξεις ἀρρωστοτέραν
καὶ μαλακωτέραν οὖσαν τοῦ δέοντος, πρὸς δὲ
τοὺς λόγους οὔτε τελείαν οὔτε πανταχῇ χρησίμην,
ἀλλὰ δοξάσαι μὲν περὶ ἑκάστου τὴν ἀλήθειαν
μᾶλλον δυναμένην τῶν εἰδέναι φασκόντων, εἰπεῖν
δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐν συλλόγῳ πολλῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἁπασῶν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπολελειμ-
10 μένην. οὕτω γὰρ ἐνδεὴς ἀμφοτέρων ἐγενόμην
τῶν μεγιστην δύναμιν ἐχόντων παρ' ἡμῖν, φωνῆς
ἱκανῆς καὶ τόλμης, ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος
τῶν πολιτῶν· ὧν οἱ μὴ τυχόντες ἀτιμότεροι περι-
έρχονται πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν ἄξιοί τινος εἶναι τῶν
[235] ὀφειλόντων τῷ δημοσίῳ· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐκτίσειν
τὸ καταγνωσθὲν ἐλπίδες ὕπεισιν, οἱ δ' οὐδέποτ'
11 ἂν τὴν φύσιν μεταβάλοιεν. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις
ἀθυμήσας περιεῖδον ἐμαυτὸν ἄδοξον οὐδ' ἀφανῆ
παντάπασι γενόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πολιτεύε-
σθαι διήμαρτον, ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ πονεῖν καὶ
γράφειν ἃ διανοηθείην κατέφυγον, οὐ περὶ μι-
κρῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν ποιούμενος οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν
ἰδίων συμβολαίων οὐδὲ περὶ ὧν ἄλλοι τινὲς

[a] Such as are described at the beginning of the *Antidosis*.

[b] See General Introd. pp. xxvii ff.; *Against the Sophists* 7 ff.

[c] *Cf. Phil.* 81 and note; *Epist.* i. 9 ff.; *Epist.* viii. 7; and Aristophanes, *Knights* 217 ff.:

oftentimes before this found fault with my nature, which no other man has contemned, and have deplored my fortune, although I have had no complaint against it other than that the philosophy which I have chosen to pursue has been the object of unfortunate and unscrupulous attacks.[a] As to my nature, however, I realized that it was not robust and vigorous enough for public affairs and that it was not adequate nor altogether suited to public discourse, and that, furthermore, although it was better able to form a correct judgement of the truth of any matter than are those who claim to have exact knowledge,[b] yet for expounding the truth before an assemblage of many people it was, if I may say so, the least competent in all the world. For I was born more lacking in the two things which have the greatest power in Athens—a strong voice and ready assurance [c]—than, I dare say, any of my fellow-citizens. And those who are not endowed with these are condemned to go about in greater obscurity so far as public recognition is concerned than those who owe money to the state ; [d] for the latter have still the hope of paying off the fine assessed against them, whereas the former can never change their nature. And yet I did not permit these disabilities to dishearten me nor did I allow myself to sink into obscurity or utter oblivion, but since I was barred from public life I took refuge in study and work and writing down my thoughts, choosing as my field, not petty matters nor private contracts, nor the things about which the other orators prate, but the

τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα σοι πρόσεστι δημαγωγικά,
φωνὴ μιαρά, γέγονας κακῶς, ἀγόραιος εἶ·
ἔχεις ἅπαντα πρὸς πολιτείαν ἃ δεῖ.

[d] An unpaid fine entailed disfranchisement in Athens.

ληροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων, δι' ἃ προσήκειν ᾠόμην μοι τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παριόντων, ὅσῳ περ περὶ μειζόνων καὶ καλλιόνων ἢ 'κεῖνοι τοὺς λόγους ἐποιούμην. ὧν οὐδὲν
12 ἡμῖν ἀποβέβηκεν. καίτοι πάντες ἴσασι τῶν μὲν ῥητόρων τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν τῇ πόλει συμφερόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοὶ λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶσι, δημηγορεῖν τολμῶντας, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς οὐ μόνον τῶν κοινῶν ἀπεχομένους μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὰς τῆς πόλεως χρείας ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν
13 αὐτῶν δαπανωμένους, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἢ λοιδορουμένους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις περὶ μεσεγγυήματος σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ λυμαινομένους τοὺς συμμάχους ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὃν ἂν τύχωσι συκοφαντοῦντας, ἐμὲ δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡγεμόνα τούτων γεγενημένον, τῶν παρακαλούντων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπί τε τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν στρατείαν τὴν
14 ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τῶν συμβουλευόντων ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν κοινῇ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοσαύτην χώραν καὶ τοιαύτην, περὶ ἧς ὅσοι περ ἀκηκόασιν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἡμᾶς τε, εἰ σωφρονήσαιμεν καὶ παυσαίμεθα τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους μανίας, ταχέως ἂν ἄνευ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων κατασχεῖν αὐτήν, ἐκείνην τε ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἅπαντας δέξασθαι τοὺς ἐνδεεῖς ἡμῶν ὄντας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὧν πράξεις,

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[a] See General Introd. p. xxiv.
[b] See *Areop.* 24 and note.
[c] See *Antid.* 144-152 and notes.
[d] *Cf.*, for this contrast between the other orators and himself, *Antid.* 147-149.

affairs of Hellas and of kings and of states.[a] Wherefore I thought that I was entitled to more honour than the speakers who come before you on the platform in proportion as my discourses were on greater and nobler themes than theirs. But nothing of the sort has come to pass. And yet all men know that the majority of the orators have the audacity to harangue the people, not for the good of the state, but for what they themselves expect to gain,[b] while I and mine not only abstain more than all others from the public funds but expend more than we can afford from our private means on the needs of the commonwealth ;[c] and they know, furthermore, that these orators are either wrangling among themselves[d] in the assemblies over deposits of money[e] or insulting our allies[f] or blackmailing[g] whosoever of the rest of the world chances to be the object of their attacks, while I, for my part, have led the way in discourses which exhort the Hellenes to concord among themselves and war against the barbarians and which urge that we all unite in colonizing a country so vast and so vulnerable that those who have heard the truth about it assert with one accord that if we are sensible and cease from our frenzy against each other we can quickly gain possession of it without effort and without risk and that this territory will easily accommodate all the people among us who are in want of the necessities of life.[h] And these are enterprises than which, should

[e] For this common cause of controversy see *Paneg.* 188 and note, Vol. I., L.C.L. Such controversies were sometimes referred to the General Assembly and there debated and voted upon.

[f] *Cf.* 142 and *Antid.* 318. [g] *Cf. Antid.* 318.

[h] The theme of the *Panegyricus* and of the *Address to Philip*.

εἰ πάντες συνελθόντες ζητοῖεν, οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὕροιεν καλλίους οὐδὲ μείζους οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ἅπασιν ἡμῖν συμφερούσας.

15 Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω πολὺ τῇ διανοίᾳ διεστώτων [236] ἡμῶν, καὶ τοσούτῳ σπουδαιοτέραν ἐμοῦ πεποιημένου τὴν αἵρεσιν, οὐ δικαίως οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὑπειλήφασιν, ἀλλὰ ταραχωδῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀλογίστως. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ῥητόρων τὸν τρόπον ψέγοντες προστάτας αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως ποιοῦνται καὶ κυρίους ἁπάντων καθιστᾶσιν, ἐμοῦ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτῷ μοι φθονοῦσι, δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ διὰ τούτους οὓς ἀποδεχόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν· οὕτως ἀτυχῶς φέρομαι παρ' αὐτοῖς.

16 Καὶ τί δεῖ θαυμάζειν τῶν πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς ὑπεροχὰς οὕτω διακεῖσθαι πεφυκότων, ὅπου καὶ τῶν οἰομένων διαφέρειν καὶ ζηλούντων ἐμὲ καὶ μιμεῖσθαι γλιχομένων τινὲς ἔτι δυσμενέστερον ἔχουσί μοι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν· ὧν τίνας ἄν τις εὕροι πονηροτέρους, εἰρήσεται γάρ, εἰ καί τισι δόξω νεώτερα καὶ βαρύτερα λέγειν τῆς ἡλικίας, οἵτινες οὔτε φράζειν οὐδὲν μέρος ἔχοντες τοῖς μαθηταῖς τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τοῖς τε λόγοις παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ζῶντες ἐντεῦθεν τοσούτου δέουσι χάριν ἔχειν τούτων, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀεί τι φλαῦρον περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγουσιν;

17 Ἕως μὲν οὖν τοὺς λόγους μου ἐλυμαίνοντο, παραναγιγνώσκοντες ὡς δυνατὸν κάκιστα τοῖς

all the world unite in the search, none could be found more honourable or more important or more advantageous to us all.

But in spite of the fact that myself and these orators are so far apart in our ways of thinking and that I have chosen a field so much more worthy, the majority of people estimate us, not in accordance with our merits, but in a confused and altogether irrational manner. For they find fault with the character of the popular orators and yet put them at the head of affairs and invest them with power over the whole state; and, again, they praise my discourses and yet are envious of me personally for no other reason than because of these very discourses which they receive with favour. So unfortunately do I fare at their hands.

But why wonder at those who are by nature envious of all superior excellence, when certain even of those who regard themselves as superior and who seek to emulate me and imitate my work are more hostile to me than is the general public? And yet where in the world could you find men more reprehensible—for I shall speak my mind even at the risk of appearing to some to discourse with more vehemence and rancour than is becoming to my age—where, I say, could you find men more reprehensible than these, who are not able to put before their students even a fraction of what I have set forth in my teaching but use my discourses as models and make their living from so doing, and yet are so far from being grateful to me on this account that they are not even willing to let me alone but are always saying disparaging things about me?

Nevertheless, as long as they confined themselves to abusing my discourses, reading them in the worst possible manner side by side with their own, dividing

ἑαυτῶν καὶ διαιροῦντες οὐκ ὀρθῶς καὶ κατα-
κνίζοντες καὶ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείροντες, οὐδὲν
ἐφρόντιζον τῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳθύμως
εἶχον· μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Παναθηναίων τῶν
18 μεγάλων ἠχθέσθην δι᾿ αὐτούς. ἀπαντήσαντες γάρ
τινές μοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔλεγον ὡς ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ
συγκαθεζόμενοι τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες τῶν ἀγελαίων
σοφιστῶν καὶ πάντα φασκόντων εἰδέναι καὶ ταχέως
πανταχοῦ γιγνομένων διαλέγοιντο περί τε τῶν
ἄλλων ποιητῶν καὶ τῆς Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῆς Ὁμή-
ρου ποιήσεως, οὐδὲν μὲν παρ᾿ αὑτῶν λέγοντες, τὰ
δ᾿ ἐκείνων ῥαψῳδοῦντες καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἄλλοις
τισὶν εἰρημένων τὰ χαριέστατα μνημονεύοντες·
19 ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τῶν περιεστώτων τὴν διατριβὴν
αὐτῶν ἕνα τὸν τολμηρότατον ἐπιχειρῆσαί με δια-
βάλλειν, λέγονθ᾿ ὡς ἐγὼ πάντων καταφρονῶ τῶν
[237] τοιούτων, καὶ τάς τε φιλοσοφίας τὰς τῶν ἄλλων
καὶ τὰς παιδείας ἁπάσας ἀναιρῶ, καί φημι πάντας
ληρεῖν πλὴν τοὺς μετεσχηκότας τῆς ἐμῆς διατριβῆς·
τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ἀηδῶς τινας τῶν παρόντων
διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
20 Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐλυπήθην καὶ συνεταράχθην ἀκού-
σας ἀποδέξασθαί τινας τοὺς λόγους τούτους, οὐκ
ἂν δυναίμην εἰπεῖν· ᾤμην γὰρ οὕτως ἐπιφανὴς
εἶναι τοῖς ἀλαζονευομένοις πολεμῶν καὶ περὶ
ἐμαυτοῦ μετρίως διειλεγμένος, μᾶλλον δὲ ταπεινῶς,

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[a] The Panathenaic festival was celebrated in Athens each year but with special magnificence every fourth year, when it was called the Great Panathenaia.

[b] A sacred enclosure on the right bank of the Ilissus, dedicated to Apollo—a gymnasium and exercise ground,

them at the wrong places, mutilating them, and in every way spoiling their effect, I paid no heed to the reports which were brought to me, but possessed myself in patience. However, a short time before the Great Panathenaia,[a] they stirred me to great indignation. For some of my friends met me and related to me how, as they were sitting together in the Lyceum,[b] three or four of the sophists of no repute—men who claim to know everything and are prompt to show their presence everywhere—were discussing the poets, especially the poetry of Hesiod and Homer, saying nothing original about them, but merely chanting their verses and repeating from memory the cleverest things which certain others had said about them in the past.[c] It seems that the bystanders applauded their performance, whereupon one of these sophists, the boldest among them, attempted to stir up prejudice against me, saying that I hold all such things in contempt and that I would do away with all the learning and the teaching of others, and that I assert that all men talk mere drivel except those who partake of my instruction. And these aspersions, according to my friends, were effective in turning a number of those present against me.

Now I could not possibly convey to you how troubled and disturbed I was on hearing that some accepted these statements as true. For I thought that it was so well known that I was waging war against the false pretenders to wisdom and that I had spoken so moderately, nay so modestly, about my

but also frequented by philosophers. Here Aristotle and his pupils were wont to gather.

[c] Other sophists made much of the study and elucidation of the poets, but there is no evidence that Isocrates did. See Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii. pp. 46 ff.

ὥστε μηδέν᾽ ἄν ποτε γενέσθαι πιστὸν τῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἐγὼ τοιαύταις ἀλαζονείαις ἐχρησάμην.
21 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἀλόγως ὠδυράμην ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν ἀτυχίαν τὴν παρακολουθοῦσάν μοι πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν αἰτία καὶ τῆς ψευδολογίας τῆς περί με γιγνομένης καὶ τῶν διαβολῶν καὶ τοῦ φθόνου καὶ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαί με τυχεῖν τῆς δόξης ἧς ἄξιός εἰμι, μηδὲ τῆς ὁμολογουμένης, μηδ᾽ ἣν ἔχουσί τινες τῶν πεπλησια-
22 κότων μοι καὶ πανταχῇ τεθεωρηκότων ἡμᾶς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἷόντ᾽ ἄλλως ἔχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνάγκη στέργειν τοῖς ἤδη συμβεβηκόσι.

Πολλῶν δέ μοι λόγων ἐφεστώτων, ἀπορῶ πότερον ἀντικατηγορῶ τῶν εἰθισμένων ἀεί τι ψεύδεσθαι περί μου καὶ λέγειν ἀνεπιτήδειον τολμώντων· ἀλλ᾽ εἰ φανείην σπουδάζων καὶ πολλοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος περὶ ἀνθρώπων οὓς οὐδεὶς ὑπείληφεν ἀξίους εἶναι λόγου, δικαίως ἂν μωρὸς
23 εἶναι δοκοίην. ἀλλὰ τούτους ὑπεριδὼν ἀπολογῶμαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδίκως μοι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν φθονοῦντας, καὶ πειρῶμαι διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ προσηκόντως περί μου ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν γνώμην; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν καταγνοίη μου πολλὴν ἄνοιαν, εἰ τοὺς μηδὲν δι᾽ ἕτερον δυσκόλως πρός με διακειμένους ἢ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν χαριέντως εἰρηκέναι περί τινων, τούτους οἰηθείην ὁμοίως διαλεχθεὶς ὥσπερ πρότερον παύσειν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις λυπουμένους, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μᾶλλον

own powers that no one could be credited for a moment who asserted that I myself resorted to such pretensions. But in truth it was with good reason that I deplored at the beginning of my speech the misfortune which has attended me all my life in this respect. For this is the cause of the false reports which are spread about me, of the calumny and prejudice which I suffer, and of my failure to attain the reputation which I deserve—either that which should be mine by common consent or that in which I am held by certain of my disciples who have known me through and through. However, this cannot now be changed and I must needs put up with what has already come to pass.

Many things come to my mind, but I am at a loss just what to do. Should I turn upon my enemies and denounce those who are accustomed always to speak falsely of me and do not scruple to say things which are repugnant to my nature? But if I showed that I took them seriously and wasted many words on men whom no one conceives to be worthy of notice I should justly be regarded as a simpleton. Should I, then, ignore these sophists and defend myself against those of the lay public who are prejudiced against me, attempting to convince them that it is neither just nor fitting for them to feel towards me as they do? But who would not impute great folly to me, if, in dealing with men who are hostile to me for no other reason than that I appear to have discoursed cleverly on certain subjects, I thought that by speaking just as I have spoken in the past I should stop them from taking offence at what I say and should not instead

ἀλγήσειν, ἄλλως τε κἂν φανῶ μηδὲ νῦν πω τηλικοῦτος ὢν πεπαυμένος παραληρῶν;

24 Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο ποιεῖν οὐδεὶς ἄν μοι
[238] συμβουλεύσειεν, ἀμελήσαντι τούτων καὶ μεταξὺ καταβαλόντι περαίνειν τὸν λόγον, ὃν προῄρημαι βουλόμενος ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν γεγενημένην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἢ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἤδη ποιοίην μήτε τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τοῖς γεγραμμένοις μήτε συγκλείσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ῥηθήσεσθαι μελλόντων τῇ τελευτῇ τῶν ἤδη προειρημένων, ὅμοιος ἂν εἶναι δόξαιμι τοῖς εἰκῇ καὶ φορτικῶς καὶ χύδην ὅ τι ἂν ἐπέλθῃ λέγουσιν· ἃ φυλακτέον ἡμῖν ἐστιν.

25 Κράτιστον οὖν ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων, περὶ ὧν τὸ τελευταῖόν με διέβαλλον ἀποφηνάμενον ἃ δοκεῖ μοι, τότ' ἤδη λέγειν περὶ ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διενοήθην· οἶμαι γάρ, ἢν ἐξενέγκω γράψας καὶ ποιήσω φανερὰν ἣν ἔχω γνώμην περί τε τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, παύσειν αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς πλάττοντας αἰτίας καὶ λέγοντας ὅ τι ἂν τύχωσιν.

26 Τῆς μὲν οὖν παιδείας τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων καταλειφθείσης τοσούτου δέω καταφρονεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατασταθεῖσαν ἐπαινῶ, λέγω δὲ τήν τε γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τοὺς διαλόγους τοὺς ἐριστικοὺς καλουμένους, οἷς

[a] Obviously he resents bitterly some attack upon him in recent years. Possibly it came from the "Eristics," to the value of whose teaching he makes a condescending concession in 26. These are not the "Eristics" mentioned in *Against the Sophists* (see 1-8 and notes), who belong to an earlier period, but those referred to in *Antid.* 258 and *Epist.* v. 3 ff.—namely Aristotle and his followers who had been hard on Isocrates (see Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii.

add to their annoyance, especially if it should appear that even now at this advanced age I have not ceased from "speaking rubbish"?

But neither would anyone, I am sure, advise me to neglect this subject and, breaking off in the midst of it, to go on and finish the discourse which I elected to write in my desire to prove that our city had been the cause of more blessings to the Hellenes than the city of the Lacedaemonians. For if I should now proceed to do this without bringing what I have written to any conclusion and without joining the beginning of what is to be said to the end of what has been spoken, I should be thought to be no better than those who speak in a random, slovenly, and scattering manner whatever comes into their heads to say. And this I must guard against.

The best course, therefore, that I can take under all these conditions is to set before you what I think about the last attempts [a] to arouse prejudice against me and then proceed to speak on the subject which I had in mind from the first. For I think that if I succeed by my writing in bringing out and making clear what my views are about education and about the poets, I shall stop my enemies from fabricating false charges and speaking utterly at random.

Now in fact, so far from scorning the education which was handed down by our ancestors, I even commend that which has been set up in our own day—I mean geometry, astronomy, and the so-called eristic dialogues,[b] which our young men delight in

p. 65). This is supported by the fact that the critics here referred to frequented the Lyceum. Blass, however (ii. pp. 68, 69), thinks that Isocrates has here in mind especially Speusippus.

[b] *Cf. Antid.* 265 and note.

οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι μᾶλλον χαίρουσι τοῦ δέοντος, τῶν
δὲ πρεσβυτέρων οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν ἀνεκτοὺς
27 αὐτοὺς εἶναι φήσειεν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ τοῖς ὡρμη-
μένοις ἐπὶ ταῦτα παρακελεύομαι πονεῖν καὶ προσ-
έχειν τὸν νοῦν ἅπασι τούτοις, λέγων ὡς εἰ καὶ
μηδὲν ἄλλο δύναται τὰ μαθήματα ταῦτα ποιεῖν
ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀποτρέπει γε τοὺς νεωτέρους
πολλῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τηλι-
κούτοις οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὑρεθῆναι νομίζω διατριβὰς
28 ὠφελιμωτέρας τούτων οὐδὲ μᾶλλον πρεπούσας· τοῖς
δὲ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἄνδρας δεδοκιμα-
σμένοις οὐκέτι φημὶ τὰς μελέτας ταύτας ἁρμότ-
τειν. ὁρῶ γὰρ ἐνίους τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς μαθήμασι
τούτοις οὕτως ἀπηκριβωμένων ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους διδάσκειν, οὔτ' εὐκαίρως ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις
αἷς ἔχουσι χρωμένους, ἔν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις πραγ-
ματείαις ταῖς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀφρονεστέρους ὄντας
29 τῶν μαθητῶν· ὀκνῶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τῶν οἰκετῶν. τὴν
αὐτὴν δὲ γνώμην ἔχω καὶ περὶ τῶν δημηγορεῖν
δυναμένων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν γραφὴν τὴν τῶν
λόγων εὐδοκιμούντων, ὅλως δὲ περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν
περὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τὰς
δυνάμεις διαφερόντων. οἶδα γὰρ καὶ τούτων τοὺς
πολλοὺς οὔτε τὰ περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καλῶς διῳκη-
κότας οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις συνουσίαις ἀνεκτοὺς ὄντας,
τῆς τε δόξης τῆς τῶν συμπολιτευομένων ὀλιγω-
ροῦντας, ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἁμαρτημά-
[239] των γέμοντας· ὥστ' οὐδὲ τούτους ἡγοῦμαι μετέχειν
τῆς ἕξεως περὶ ἧς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω διαλεγόμενος.

30 Τίνας οὖν καλῶ πεπαιδευμένους, ἐπειδὴ τὰς
τέχνας καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπο-
δοκιμάζω; πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς καλῶς χρωμένους

more than they should, although among the older men not one would not declare them insufferable. Nevertheless, I urge those who are inclined towards these disciplines to work hard and apply themselves to all of them, saying that even if this learning can accomplish no other good, at any rate it keeps the young out of many other things which are harmful. Nay, I hold that for those who are at this age no more helpful or fitting occupation can be found than the pursuit of these studies; but for those who are older and for those who have been admitted to man's estate I assert that these disciplines are no longer suitable. For I observe that some of those who have become so thoroughly versed in these studies as to instruct others in them fail to use opportunely the knowledge which they possess, while in the other activities of life they are less cultivated [a] than their students—I hesitate to say less cultivated than their servants. I have the same fault to find also with those who are skilled in oratory and those who are distinguished for their writings and in general with all who have superior attainments in the arts, in the sciences, and in specialized skill. For I know that the majority even of these men have not set their own house in order, that they are insupportable in their private intercourse, that they belittle the opinions of their fellow-citizens, and that they are given over to many other grave offences. So that I do not think that even these may be said to partake of the state of culture of which I am speaking.

Whom, then, do I call educated, since I exclude the arts and sciences and specialties? First, those who

[a] See General Introd. pp. xxv ff.

τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην προσπίπτουσι, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπιτυχῆ τῶν καιρῶν ἔχοντας καὶ δυναμένην ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ στοχάζεσθαι
31 τοῦ συμφέροντος· ἔπειτα τοὺς πρεπόντως καὶ δικαίως ὁμιλοῦντας τοῖς ἀεὶ πλησιάζουσι, καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀηδίας καὶ βαρύτητας εὐκόλως καὶ ῥᾳδίως φέροντας, σφᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς ὡς δυνατὸν ἐλαφροτάτους καὶ μετριωτάτους τοῖς συνοῦσι παρέχοντας· ἔτι τοὺς τῶν μὲν ἡδονῶν ἀεὶ κρατοῦντας, τῶν δὲ συμφορῶν μὴ λίαν ἡττωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀνδρωδῶς ἐν αὐταῖς διακειμένους καὶ τῆς φύσεως
32 ἀξίως ἧς μετέχοντες τυγχάνομεν· τέταρτον, ὅπερ μέγιστον, τοὺς μὴ διαφθειρομένους ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπραγιῶν μηδ' ἐξισταμένους αὑτῶν μηδ' ὑπερηφάνους γιγνομένους, ἀλλ' ἐμμένοντας τῇ τάξει τῇ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον χαίροντας τοῖς διὰ τύχην ὑπάρξασιν ἀγαθοῖς ἢ τοῖς διὰ τὴν αὑτῶν φύσιν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γιγνομένοις. τοὺς δὲ μὴ μόνον πρὸς ἓν τούτων ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα τὴν ἕξιν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐάρμοστον ἔχοντας, τούτους φημὶ καὶ φρονίμους εἶναι καὶ τελέους ἄνδρας καὶ πάσας ἔχειν τὰς ἀρετάς.

33 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πεπαιδευμένων τυγχάνω ταῦτα γιγνώσκων. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ τῆς Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ποιήσεως ἐπιθυμῶ μὲν εἰπεῖν, οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν παῦσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ ῥαψῳδοῦντας τἀκείνων καὶ ληροῦντας περὶ αὐτῶν, αἰσθάνομαι δ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔξω φερόμενον τῆς συμμετρίας τῆς συντεταγμένης τοῖς
34 προοιμίοις. ἔστι δ' ἀνδρὸς νοῦν ἔχοντος μὴ τὴν

[a] See General Introd. p. xxvii; *Against the Sophists* 3, 16, 17; *Antid.* 184, 271.

manage well the circumstances which they encounter day by day, and who possess a judgement which is accurate in meeting occasions as they arise and rarely misses the expedient course of action ;[a] next, those who are decent and honourable in their intercourse with all with whom they associate, tolerating easily and good-naturedly what is unpleasant or offensive in others and being themselves as agreeable and reasonable to their associates as it is possible to be ; furthermore, those who hold their pleasures always under control[b] and are not unduly overcome by their misfortunes,[c] bearing up under them bravely and in a manner worthy of our common nature ; finally, and most important of all, those who are not spoiled by successes and do not desert their true selves and become arrogant,[d] but hold their ground steadfastly as intelligent men, not rejoicing in the good things which have come to them through chance rather than in those which through their own nature and intelligence are theirs from their birth. Those who have a character which is in accord, not with one of these things, but with all of them—these, I contend, are wise and complete men, possessed of all the virtues.

These then are the views which I hold regarding educated men. As to the poetry of Homer and Hesiod and the rest, I would fain speak—for I think that I could silence those who chant their verses and prate about these poets in the Lyceum—but I perceive that I am being carried beyond the due limits which have been assigned to an introduction ; and it behoves a man of taste not to indulge his resourceful-

[b] *Cf. To Demonicus* 21 and note ; *To Nicocles* 29.
[c] See *To Demonicus* 42 and note.
[d] *Cf.* 196, 197.

εὐπορίαν ἀγαπᾶν, ἣν ἔχῃ τις περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
πλείω τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν
διαφυλάττειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἀεὶ τυγχάνῃ διαλεγό-
μενος· ὅπερ ἐμοὶ ποιητέον ἐστίν. περὶ μὲν οὖν
τῶν ποιητῶν αὖθις ἐροῦμεν, ἢν μή με προανέλῃ
τὸ γῆρας, ἢ περὶ σπουδαιοτέρων πραγμάτων ἔχω
[240] τι λέγειν ἢ τούτων.
35 Περὶ δὲ τῶν τῆς πόλεως εὐεργεσιῶν τῶν εἰς
τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἤδη ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, οὐχ
ὡς οὐ πλείους ἐπαίνους πεποιημένος περὶ αὐτῆς ἢ
σύμπαντες οἱ περὶ τὴν ποίησιν καὶ τοὺς λόγους
ὄντες· οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως καὶ νῦν. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐν
λόγοις περὶ ἑτέρων πραγμάτων ἐμεμνήμην αὐτῆς,
νῦν δὲ περὶ ταύτης τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ποιησάμενος.
36 οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ᾽ ἡλίκος ὢν ὅσον ἔργον ἐνίσταμαι τὸ
μέγεθος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς καὶ πολλάκις εἰρηκὼς
ὅτι τὰ μὲν μικρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ῥᾴδιον τοῖς
λόγοις αὐξῆσαι, τοῖς δ᾽ ὑπερβάλλουσι τῶν ἔργων
καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει χαλεπὸν ἐξισῶσαι
37 τοὺς ἐπαίνους. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπο-
στατέον αὐτῶν ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιτελεστέον, ἤν περ
ἔτι ζῆν δυνηθῶμεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλῶν με παρ-
οξυνόντων γράφειν αὐτόν, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰθι-
σμένων ἀσελγῶς κατηγορεῖν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν,
ἔπειτα τῶν χαριέντως μὲν ἀπειροτέρως δὲ καὶ
38 καταδεεστέρως ἐπαινούντων αὐτήν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν
ἑτέρων μᾶλλον εὐλογεῖν τολμώντων οὐκ ἀνθρω-
πίνως ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως ὥστε πολλοὺς ἀντιτάττεσθαι
πρὸς αὐτούς, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς

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[a] A promise not fulfilled.
[b] *Cf. Antid.* 166.

ness, when he has more to say on a given subject than the other speakers, but to preserve always the element of timeliness no matter on what subject he may have occasion to speak—a principle which I must observe. Therefore I shall speak on the poets at another time [a] provided that my age does not first carry me off and that I do not have something to say on subjects more important than this.

I shall now proceed to discourse upon the benefactions of Athens to the Hellenes, not that I have not sung the praises of our city more than all others put together who have written in poetry or prose.[b] I shall not speak, however, as on former occasions; for then I celebrated Athens incidentally to other matters, whereas now Athens herself shall be my theme. But I do not fail to appreciate how great an undertaking this is for me at my time of life; on the contrary, I know full well, and have often said,[c] that while it is easy to magnify little things by means of discourse, it is difficult to find terms of praise to match deeds of surpassing magnitude and excellence. Nevertheless, I may not desist on that account from my task, but must carry it through to the end, if indeed I am enabled to live to do so, especially since many considerations impel me to write upon this theme myself: first, is the fact that some are in the habit of recklessly denouncing our city; second, that while some have praised her gracefully, they have lacked appreciation of their theme and treated it inadequately; furthermore, that others have not scrupled rather to glorify her, not in human terms, but so extravagantly as to arouse the hostility of many against them; and, lastly, there is the fact of my

[c] *Helen* 13, Vol. III., L.C.L.

παρούσης, ᾗ τοὺς ἄλλους πέφυκεν ἀποτρέπειν·
ἐλπίζω γάρ, ἢν μὲν κατορθώσω, μείζω λήψεσθαι
δόξαν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης, ἢν δ' ἐνδεέστερον τύχω
διαλεχθείς, πολλῆς συγγνώμης τεύξεσθαι παρὰ
τῶν ἀκουόντων.

39 Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἐβουλήθην καὶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ὥσπερ χορὸς πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προανα-
βαλέσθαι ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ χρῆναι τοὺς
βουλομένους ἐγκωμιάσαι τινὰ τῶν πόλεων ἀκριβῶς
καὶ δικαίως μὴ μόνον περὶ αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς
λόγους ἧς προῃρημένοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν θεωροῦμεν καὶ
δοκιμάζομεν ἕτερα παραδεικνύοντες τῶν καὶ τὴν
ὄψιν ὁμοίαν ἐχόντων καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τῆς αὐτῆς
40 ἀξιουμένων, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι παριστάναι μὴ
τὰς μικρὰς ταῖς μεγάλαις, μηδὲ τὰς πάντα τὸν
χρόνον ὑφ' ἑτέραις οὔσας ταῖς ἄρχειν εἰθισμέναις,
[241] μηδὲ τὰς σώζεσθαι δεομένας πρὸς τὰς σώζειν
δυναμένας, ἀλλὰ τὰς παραπλησίαν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν
ἐχούσας καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις γεγενημένας
καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ὁμοίαις κεχρημένας· οὕτω γὰρ
ἂν μάλιστα τῆς ἀληθείας τύχοιεν.

41 Ἢν δή τις ἡμᾶς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον σκοπῆται
καὶ παραβάλλῃ μὴ πρὸς τὴν τυχοῦσαν πόλιν ἀλλὰ
πρὸς τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν, ἣν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ μετρίως
ἐπαινοῦσιν, ἔνιοι δέ τινες ὥσπερ τῶν ἡμιθέων ἐκεῖ
πεπολιτευμένων μέμνηνται περὶ αὐτῶν, φανησό-
μεθα καὶ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς

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[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 14, where he compares the prooemium of a speech to the prelude of a flute-player.

[b] The oligarchical party in Athens, generally, admired

present age, which is such as to deter others from such an undertaking. For I am hopeful that if I succeed I shall obtain a greater reputation than that which I now have, whereas if it turns out that I speak indifferently well, my hearers will make generous allowance for my years.

I have now finished what I wished to say by way of prelude [a] about myself and others, like a chorus, as it were, before the contest. But I think that those who wish to be exact and just in praising any given state ought not to confine themselves alone to the state which they single out, but even as we examine purple and gold and test them by placing them side by side with articles of similar appearance and of the same estimated value, so also in the case of states one should compare, not those which are small with those which are great, nor those which are always subject to others with those which are wont to dominate others, nor those which stand in need of succour with those which are able to give it, but rather those which have similar powers, and have engaged in the same deeds and enjoyed a like freedom of action. For thus one may best arrive at the truth.

If, then, one views Athens in this light and compares her, not with any city chosen at random, but with the city of the Spartans, which most people praise moderately while some [b] extol her as though the demigods had there governed the state, then Athens, in her power, in her deeds and in her bene-

Spartan institutions. Among writers, Xenophon especially (see his *Constitution of Sparta*) was emphatic in his praise of them. The Athenian philosophers, also, were wont to contrast the rigour and discipline of the Spartan with the slackness of the Athenian ways of life. See *Nicocles* 24 and note.

εὐεργεσίαις ταῖς περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πλέον ἀπολελοιπότες αὐτοὺς ἢ ’κεῖνοι τοὺς ἄλλους.

42 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν παλαιοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γεγενημένους ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν, νῦν δὲ ποιήσομαι περὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς λόγους ἀρξάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἀχαιίδας καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Μεσσηνίους διείλοντο τὴν χώραν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ προσήκει διαλέγεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

Οἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι φανήσονται τήν τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔχθραν, ἣν παρέλαβον ἐκ τῶν Τρωικῶν, διαφυλάττοντες καὶ μένοντες ἐν τοῖς
43 αὐτοῖς. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους, περὶ ἃς ἐγένοντο πολλαὶ πραγματεῖαι κατὰ τὴν Μίνω τοῦ Κρητὸς δυναστείαν, ταύτας τὸ τελευταῖον ὑπὸ Καρῶν κατεχομένας, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκείνους οὐκ ἐξιδιώσασθαι τὰς χώρας ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μάλιστα βίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεο-
44 μένους κατῴκισαν εἰς αὐτάς· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλὰς πόλεις ἐφ’ ἑκατέρας τῶν ἠπείρων καὶ μεγάλας ἔκτισαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἀνέστειλαν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, τοὺς δ’ Ἕλληνας ἐδίδαξαν ὃν τρόπον διοικοῦντες τὰς αὑτῶν πατρίδας καὶ πρὸς οὓς πολεμοῦντες μεγάλην ἂν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιήσειαν.

45 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ πράττειν τι τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις

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[a] He does so in 191 ff.

[b] In the northern Peloponnese. For the Dorian Invasion of the Peloponnese see Grote, *Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 2 ff. *Cf. Archid.* 16 ff., Vol. I., L.C.L.

factions to the Hellenes, will be seen to have outdistanced Sparta more than Sparta the rest of the world.

Of the ancient struggles which they have undergone in behalf of the Hellenes, I shall speak hereafter.[a] Now, however, I shall begin with the time when the Lacedaemonians conquered the cities of Achaea[b] and divided their territory with the Argives and the Messenians; for it is fitting to begin discussing them at this point.

Now our ancestors will be seen to have preserved without ceasing the spirit of concord towards the Hellenes and of hatred towards the barbarians which they inherited from the Trojan War and to have remained steadfast in this policy. First they took the islands of the Cyclades,[c] about which there had been much contention during the overlordship of Minos of Crete and which finally were occupied by the Carians,[d] and, having driven out the latter, refrained from appropriating the lands of these islands for themselves, but instead settled upon them those of the Hellenes who were most lacking in means of subsistence. And after this, they founded many great cities on both continents,[e] swept the barbarians back from the sea, and taught the Hellenes in what way they should manage their own countries and against whom they should wage war in order to make Hellas great.

The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, about the same time were so far from carrying out the same

[c] In the campaigns of the so-called "Ionian Migration." See *Paneg.* 34 ff.

[d] See Herod. i. 171.

[e] Europe and Asia—north and south of the Hellespont.

καὶ τοῦ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις πολεμεῖν τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας εὐεργετεῖν, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ' ἔχοντες πόλιν ἀλλοτρίαν καὶ χώραν
[242] οὐ μόνον ἱκανήν, ἀλλ' ὅσην οὐδεμία πόλις τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, οὐκ ἔστερξαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀλλὰ μα-
46 θόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν συμβεβηκότων κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας τούτων εἶναι δοκούσας, τῶν ὀρθῶς καὶ νομίμως κτησαμένων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τούτων γιγνομένας, τῶν τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστ' ἀσκούντων καὶ νικᾶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοὺς πολεμίους δυναμένων, ταῦτα διανοηθέντες, ἀμελήσαντες γεωργιῶν καὶ τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, οὐδὲν ἐπαύοντο κατὰ μίαν ἑκάστην τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πολιορκοῦντες καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦντες, ἕως ἁπάσας κατεστρέψαντο πλὴν τῆς Ἀργείων.

47 Συνέβαινεν οὖν ἐξ ὧν μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐπράττομεν, αὐξάνεσθαί τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην κρείττω γίγνεσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἀποροῦντας πόλεις λαμβάνειν καὶ χώρας, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τοὺς εἰθισμένους ὑβρίζειν ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τῆς αὑτῶν καὶ φρονεῖν ἔλαττον ἢ πρότερον· ἐξ ὧν δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται, τὴν ἐκείνων μόνην μεγάλην γίγνεσθαι, καὶ πασῶν μὲν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων ἄρχειν, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις φοβερὰν εἶναι καὶ πολλῆς θεραπείας τυγχάνειν παρ'
48 αὐτῶν. ἐπαινεῖν μὲν οὖν δίκαιόν ἐστι τὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν γεγενημένην, δεινὴν δὲ νομίζειν τὴν αὑτῇ τὰ συμφέροντα διαπραττομένην, καὶ φίλους μὲν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ὁμοίως αὑτοῖς τε καὶ

[a] For the Spartan Conquest of the Peloponnese see Grote, *Hist.* ii. pp. 418 ff.

policy as our ancestors—from waging war on the barbarians and benefiting the Hellenes—that they were not even willing to refrain from aggression, but although they held an alien city and a territory not only adequate but greater than any other city of Hellas possessed, they were not satisfied with what they had ; on the contrary, having learned from the actual course of events that while according to law states and territories are deemed to belong to those who have duly and lawfully acquired them, in fact, however, they fall into the hands of those who are most practised in the art of warfare and are able to conquer their enemies in battle—thinking upon these things, they neglected agriculture and the arts and everything else and did not cease laying siege to the cities in the Peloponnesus one by one and doing violence to them until they overthrew them all with the exception of Argos.[a]

And so it resulted from the policy which we pursued that Hellas waxed great, Europe became stronger than Asia, and, furthermore, the Hellenes who were in straitened circumstances received cities and lands, while the barbarians who were wont to be insolent were expelled from their own territory and humbled in their pride ; whereas the results of the Spartan policy were that their city alone became strong, dominated all the cities in the Peloponnesus, inspired fear in the other states, and was courted by them for her favour. In justice, however, we should praise the city which has been the author of many blessings to the rest of the world but should reprehend the state which is ever striving to effect its own advantage ; and we should cultivate the friend-

τοῖς ἄλλοις χρωμένους, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ δεδιέναι τοὺς πρὸς σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς δυνατὸν οἰκειότατα διακειμένους, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλλοτρίως καὶ πολεμικῶς τὴν αὑτῶν διοικοῦντας.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν ἑκατέρα τοῖν πολέοιν τοιαύτην
49 ἐποιήσατο. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον γενομένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ξέρξου τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος τριήρεις μὲν συναγαγόντος τριακοσίας καὶ χιλίας, τῆς δὲ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς πεντακοσίας μὲν μυριάδας τῶν ἁπάντων, ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ τῶν μαχίμων, τηλικαύτῃ δὲ δυνάμει στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ
50 τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Σπαρτιᾶται μὲν ἄρχοντες Πελοποννησίων εἰς τὴν ναυμαχίαν τὴν ποιήσασαν ῥοπὴν ἅπαντος τοῦ πολέμου δέκα μόνον συνεβάλοντο
[243] τριήρεις, οἱ δὲ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀνάστατοι γενόμενοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλελοιπότες διὰ τὸ μὴ τετειχίσθαι κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πλείους ναῦς παρέσχοντο καὶ μείζω δύναμιν ἐχούσας ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ συγκιν-
51 δυνεύσαντες· καὶ στρατηγὸν οἱ μὲν Εὐρυβιάδην, ὃς εἰ τέλος ἐπέθηκεν οἷς διενοήθη πράττειν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυεν ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν ὁμολογουμένως ἅπασιν αἴτιον εἶναι δόξαντα καὶ τοῦ τὴν ναυμαχίαν γενέσθαι κατὰ τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ
52 τῷ χρόνῳ κατορθωθέντων. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον·

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[a] For conduct of Athens and Sparta in the Persian Wars, 49-52, compare *Paneg.* 71-74, 85-98.

[b] "An innumerable army" in *Paneg.* 93. See note, Isocrates, Vol. I. p. 176, L.C.L.

[c] See *Paneg.* 96; *Archid.* 43, Vol. I., L.C.L.

[d] See *Paneg.* 98, note.

[e] *Cf. Paneg.* 98. Eurybiades and the Peloponnesians

ship of those who do by others just as they do by themselves, but should abhor and shun those who feel the utmost degree of self-love, while governing their state in a spirit inimical and hostile to the world at large.

Such was the beginning made by each of these two states. But at a later time, when the Persian War took place [a] (Xerxes, who was then king, having gathered together a fleet of thirteen hundred triremes and a land force numbering five millions in all, including seven hundred thousand fighting men, and led this vast force [b] against the Hellenes), the Spartans, although they were masters of the Peloponnesus, contributed to the sea-fight which determined the issue of the whole war only ten triremes, whereas our ancestors, although they were homeless, having abandoned Athens [c] because the city had not been fortified with walls at that time, furnished not only a greater number of ships, but ships with a greater fighting force, than all the rest combined who fought together in that battle.[d] Again, the Lacedaemonians contributed to this battle the leadership of Eurybiades, who, had he carried into effect what he intended to do, could have been prevented by nothing in the world from bringing destruction upon the Hellenes, whereas the Athenians furnished Themistocles, who, by the common assent of all, was credited with being responsible for the victorious outcome of that battle as well as for all the other successes which were achieved during that time.[e] And the greatest

generally, including Corinth, favoured the removal of the fleet from Salamis to the Isthmus of Corinth. Themistocles thwarted this retreat. Herod. viii. 57 ff. The account in Plutarch's *Themistocles* is closer to that of Isocrates.

ἀφελόμενοι γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἱ συγκινδυνεύσαντες τοῖς ἡμετέροις παρέδοσαν. καίτοι τίνας ἂν τις κριτὰς ἱκανωτέρους ποιήσαιτο καὶ πιστοτέρους τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἢ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀγῶσι παραγενομένους; τίνα δ' ἂν τις εὐεργεσίαν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ταύτης μείζω, τῆς ἅπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα σῶσαι δυνηθείσης;

53 *Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν συνέβη κυρίαν ἑκατέραν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν, ἣν ὁπότεροι ἂν κατάσχωσιν, ὑπηκόους ἔχουσι τὰς πλείστας τῶν πόλεων. ὅλως μὲν οὖν οὐδετέραν ἐπαινῶ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν τις αὐταῖς ἐπιτιμήσειεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην οὐκ ἔλαττον αὐτῶν διηνέγκαμεν ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον*
54 *εἰρημένας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτεροι πατέρες ἔπειθον τοὺς συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι πολιτείαν ταύτην, ἥνπερ αὐτοὶ διετέλουν ἀγαπῶντες· ὃ σημεῖόν ἐστιν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας, ὅταν τινὲς παραινῶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις χρῆσθαι τούτοις, ἅπερ ἂν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συμφέρειν ὑπολάβωσιν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ κατέστησαν οὔθ' ὁμοίαν τῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε ταῖς ἄλλοθί που γεγενημέναις, ἀλλὰ δέκα μόνους ἄνδρας κυρίους ἑκάστης τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαν, ὧν ἐπιχειρήσας ἄν τις κατηγορεῖν τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας συνεχῶς οὐδὲν ἂν μέρος εἰρηκέναι δόξειε τῶν ἐκείνοις ἡμαρτημένων.*

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[a] See *Paneg.* 72.

[b] For contrast between the empire of Athens and that of Sparta, 53-61, compare *Paneg.* 104 ff.

[c] *Cf. Paneg.* 16.

[d] Here he uses the inoffensive word ἐπιμέλεια, supervision, to convey the feeling that the empire of Athens cared for the interests of the confederate states.

[e] See *Paneg.* 104-106.

proof of this is that those who then fought together took the hegemony away from the Lacedaemonians and conferred it upon our ancestors.[a] And yet what more competent or trustworthy judges could one find of what then took place than those who had a part in those very struggles? And what benefaction could one mention greater than that which was able to save all Hellas?

Now after these events it came about that each of these cities in turn gained the empire of the sea [b]—a power such that whichever state possesses it holds in subjection most of the states of Hellas.[c] As to their use of this power in general, I commend neither Athens nor Sparta; for one might find many faults with both. Nevertheless, in this supervision [d] the Athenians surpassed the Lacedaemonians no less than in the deeds which I have just mentioned. For our fathers tried to persuade their allies to establish the very same polity in their cities as they themselves had continually cherished; [e] and it is a sign of good will and friendship when any people urge it upon others to use those institutions which they conceive to be beneficial to themselves. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, set up in their subject states a polity which resembled neither that which obtained among themselves nor those which have existed anywhere else in the world; nay, they vested in ten men [f] alone the government of each of the states—men of such a character that were one to attempt to denounce them for three or four days without pause he would appear to have covered not a fraction of the wrongs which have been per-

[f] For these "decarchies" and their misrule see *Paneg.* 110-114.

55 καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν διεξιέναι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων
καὶ τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνόητόν ἐστιν· ὀλίγα δὲ
[244] καθ' ἁπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἃ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν ὀργὴν ἀξίαν
ἐμποιήσειεν ἂν τῶν πεπραγμένων, νεώτερος μὲν ὢν
ἴσως ἂν ἐξεῦρον, νῦν δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέρχεταί μοι τοι-
οῦτον, ἀλλ' ἅπερ ἅπασιν, ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἐκεῖνοι
διήνεγκαν ἀνομίᾳ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ τῶν προγεγενη-
μένων, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον αὑτοὺς ἀπώλεσαν καὶ τοὺς
φίλους καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τὰς αὑτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίους πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους διαβαλόντες
εἰς τοιαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας συμφορὰς ἐνέβαλον,
ὅσας οὐδεὶς πώποτ' αὐτοῖς γενήσεσθαι προσ-
εδόκησεν.

56 Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἄν τις δυνηθείη κατ-
ιδεῖν ὅσῳ μετριώτερον καὶ πραότερον ἡμεῖς τῶν
πραγμάτων ἐπεμελήθημεν, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τοῦ
ῥηθήσεσθαι μέλλοντος· Σπαρτιᾶται μὲν γὰρ ἔτη
δέκα μόλις ἐπεστάτησαν αὐτῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πέντε καὶ
ἑξήκοντα συνεχῶς κατέσχομεν τὴν ἀρχήν. καίτοι
πάντες ἴσασι τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑφ' ἑτέροις γιγνομένας,
ὅτι πλεῖστον χρόνον τούτοις παραμένουσιν ὑφ' ὧν
57 ἂν ἐλάχιστα κακὰ πάσχουσαι τυγχάνωσιν. ἐκ
τούτων τοίνυν ἀμφότεραι μισηθεῖσαι κατέστησαν
εἰς πόλεμον καὶ ταραχήν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν
εὕροι τις ἄν, ἁπάντων αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ
τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιθεμένων, ἔτη δέκα τούτοις

[a] Isocrates elsewhere views the Spartan supremacy as lasting from the end of the Peloponnesian War, 405–404 B.C., to the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C. See *Phil.* 47. But later in *Phil.* 63-64 he speaks of Conon's naval victory at the battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C., as the end of the Spartan rule, since it re-established the maritime influence of Athens. The latter is the version followed here. It is reasonable to say that

petrated by them. To attempt to review these wrongs in detail were foolish ; they are so many and so grave. Were I a younger man, I might perhaps have found means to characterize all of their crimes in a few words which would have stirred in my hearers an indignation commensurate with the gravity of the things which these men have done ; but as it is, no such words occur to me other than those which are on the lips of all men, namely, that they so far outdid all those who lived before their time in lawlessness and greed that they not only ruined themselves and their friends and their own countries but also brought the Lacedaemonians into evil repute with their allies and plunged them into misfortunes so many and so grave as no one could have dreamed would ever be visited upon them.

You can see at once from this instance best of all how much milder and more moderate we were in our supervision over the affairs of the Hellenes, but you can see it also from what I shall now say. The Spartans remained at the head of Hellas hardly ten years,[a] while we held the hegemony without interruption for sixty-five years.[b] And yet it is known to all that states which come under the supremacy of others remain loyal for the longest time to those under which they suffer the least degree of oppression. Now both Athens and Lacedaemon incurred the hatred of their subjects and were plunged into war and confusion, but in these circumstances it will be found that our city, although attacked by all the Hellenes and by the barbarians as well, was able to

Sparta's supremacy by sea ceased with the battle of Cnidus and her supremacy by land with Leuctra.

[b] See *Paneg.* 106, note.

ἀντισχεῖν δυνηθεῖσαν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ κρατοῦν-
τας ἔτι κατὰ γῆν, πρὸς Θηβαίους μόνους πολεμή-
σαντας καὶ μίαν μάχην ἡττηθέντας, ἁπάντων ἀπο-
στερηθέντας ὧν εἶχον, καὶ παραπλησίαις ἀτυχίαις
58 χρησαμένους καὶ συμφοραῖς αἷσπερ ἡμεῖς, καὶ πρὸς
τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἐν ἐλάττοσιν
ἔτεσιν ἀναλαβοῦσαν αὑτὴν ἢ κατεπολεμήθη, Σπαρ-
τιάτας δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν μηδ᾽ ἐν πολλαπλασίῳ
χρόνῳ δυνηθέντας καταστῆσαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν
αὐτὴν ἕξιν ἐξ ἧς περ ἐξέπεσον, ἀλλ᾽ ὁμοίως ἔτι καὶ
νῦν ἔχοντας.

59 Τὰ τοίνυν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς ἑκάτεροι
προσηνέχθημεν, δηλωτέον· ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτο λοιπόν
ἐστιν. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυναστείας οὐκ
ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς οὔτ᾽ ἐντὸς Ἅλυος πεζῷ στρατοπέδῳ
καταβαίνειν οὔτε μακροῖς πλοίοις ἐπὶ τάδε πλεῖν
[245] Φασήλιδος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ μόνον τοῦ
πορεύεσθαι καὶ πλεῖν ὅποι βουληθεῖεν ἐξουσίαν
ἔλαβον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπόται πολλῶν Ἑλληνίδων
60 πόλεων κατέστησαν. τὴν δὴ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς
πρὸς βασιλέα γενναιοτέρας καὶ μεγαλοφρονεστέρας
ποιησαμένην, καὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων τοῖς
μὲν βαρβάροις κακῶν τοῖς δ᾽ Ἕλλησιν ἀγαθῶν
αἰτίαν γεγενημένην, ἔτι δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν παραλίαν
καὶ πολλὴν ἄλλην χώραν τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους
61 ἀφελομένην τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις κτησαμένην, καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ὑβρίζοντας τοὺς δ᾽ ἀποροῦντας παύσασαν,
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τε πολεμήσασαν

[a] The last decade of the Peloponnesian War, from what he terms the Decelean War, 413 B.C. (see *Peace* 37, 84, note), to the fall of Athens, 404–403 B.C.

[b] Leuctra, 371 B.C.

[c] See *Peace*, 105.

[d] Under the Peace of Antalcidas. See *Paneg.* 115, note.

hold out against them for ten years,[a] while the Lacedaemonians, though still the leading power by land, after waging war against the Thebans alone and being defeated in a single battle,[b] were stripped of all the possessions which they had held and involved in misfortunes and calamities which were very similar to these which overtook ourselves.[c] More than that, our city recovered her power in less years than it took to overthrow it, while the Spartans after their defeat at Leuctra have not been able even in a period many times as long to regain the position from which they fell, but are even now [d] no better off than they were then.

Again, I must set forth how these two cities demeaned themselves toward the barbarians ; [e] for this still remains to be done. In the time of our supremacy, the barbarians were prevented from marching with an army beyond the Halys river [f] and from sailing with their ships of war this side of Phaselis,[g] but under the hegemony of the Lacedaemonians not only did they gain the freedom to march and sail wherever they pleased, but they even became masters over many Hellenic states. Well then, does not the city which made the nobler and prouder covenants with the Persian king, which brought to pass the most and the greatest injuries to the barbarians and benefits to the Hellenes, which, furthermore, seized from her foes the sea-coast of Asia and much other territory besides and appropriated it to her allies, which put an end to the insolence of the barbarians and the poverty of the Hellenes, and which, besides, waged war in her own

[e] Compare the treatment of this topic in *Paneg.* 100-132.

[f] See *Paneg.* 144.

[g] See *Paneg.* 118, *Areop.* 80, note.

ἄμεινον τῆς εὐδοκιμούσης περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς θᾶττον διαλυσαμένην τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων, πῶς οὐ δίκαιον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις ἀπολελειμμένην;

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πραχθέντων παρ' ἄλληλα καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τῶν ἅμα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς γενομένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι ταῦτ' εἶχον εἰπεῖν.
62 οἶμαι δὲ τοὺς ἀηδῶς ἀκούοντας τῶν λόγων τούτων τοῖς μὲν εἰρημένοις οὐδὲν ἀντερεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν, οὐδ' αὖ πράξεις ἑτέρας ἕξειν εἰπεῖν περὶ ἃς Λακεδαιμόνιοι γενόμενοι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστησαν, κατ-
63 ηγορεῖν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρήσειν, ὅπερ ἀεὶ ποιεῖν εἰώθασι, καὶ διεξιέναι τὰς δυσχερεστάτας τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν γεγενημένων, καὶ τάς τε δίκας καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐνθάδε γιγνομένας τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ τὴν τῶν φόρων εἴσπραξιν διαβαλεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα διατρίψειν περὶ τὰ Μηλίων πάθη καὶ Σκιωναίων καὶ Τορωναίων, οἰομένους ταῖς κατηγορίαις ταύταις καταρρυπανεῖν τὰς τῆς πόλεως
64 εὐεργεσίας τὰς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἰρημένας. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ δικαίως ἂν ῥηθέντα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως οὔτ' ἂν δυναίμην ἀντειπεῖν οὔτ' ἂν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι τοῦτο ποιεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἰσχυνοίμην, ὅπερ εἶπον ἤδη καὶ πρότερον, εἰ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲ

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[a] Members of the Confederacy of Delos had to bring certain law-suits, especially those which involved disloyalty to the league in any way, to Athens for trial. See *Paneg.* 113, note.

[b] See *Areop.* 2, note.

[c] For the treatment of Melos and Scione see *Paneg.* 100,

cause more capably than that city which is famed for her skill in warfare, and extricated herself from her misfortunes more quickly than these same Lacedaemonians—does not this city, I say, deserve to be praised and honoured more than the state which has been outdistanced by her in all these respects?

This, then, is what I had in mind to say on this occasion in comparing the achievements of Athens and Lacedaemon and the wars which they fought at the same time and against the same adversaries. But I think that, while those who find these words distasteful to listen to will not deny that what I have said is the truth nor, again, will they be able to cite other activities of the Lacedaemonians through which they brought to pass many blessings to the Hellenes, yet they will attempt—as is ever their habit—to denounce our city, to recount the most offensive acts which transpired while she held the empire of the sea, to present in a false light the adjudication of law-suits in Athens for the allies [a] and her collection of tribute [b] from them, and above all to dwell on the cruelties suffered at her hands by the Melians and the Scionians and the Toronians,[c] thinking by these reproaches to sully the benefactions of Athens which I have just described. Now I, for my part, could not gainsay all the things which might justly be said against our city, nor would I attempt to do so; for I should be ashamed, as I have already said in another place,[d] when all other men

note, and 109. Torone was captured by Cleon in 422 B.C. The men of the town were sent as prisoners to Athens, and the women and children sold into slavery (Thuc. v. 3).

[d] In *Epist.* ii. 16, Vol. III., L.C.L.

τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναμαρτήτους εἶναι νομιζόντων ἐγὼ γλιχοίμην καὶ πειρῴμην πείθειν ὡς περὶ οὐδὲν
65 πώποτε τὸ κοινὸν ἡμῶν πεπλημμέληκεν· οὐ μὴν
[246] ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό γ' οἴομαι ποιήσειν, τήν τε πόλιν τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπιδείξειν περὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς προειρημένας πολὺ πικροτέραν καὶ χαλεπωτέραν τῆς ἡμετέρας γεγενημένην, τούς θ' ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων βλασφημοῦντας καθ' ἡμῶν ὡς δυνατὸν ἀφρονέστατα διακειμένους καὶ τοῦ κακῶς ἀκούειν ὑφ'
66 ἡμῶν τοὺς φίλους αὐτῶν αἰτίους ὄντας· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατηγορῶσιν, οἷς ἔνοχοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μᾶλλον τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, οὐκ ἀποροῦμεν τοῦ περὶ ἡμῶν ῥηθέντος μεῖζον ἁμάρτημα κατ' ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν.

Οἷον καὶ νῦν, ἢν μνησθῶσι τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων, τίς ἐστιν οὕτως ἀφυής, ὅστις οὐχ εὑρήσει πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀντειπεῖν ὅτι πλείους Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτόνασι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐξ οὗ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦμεν, εἰς ἀγῶνα καὶ κρίσιν καταστάντων;

67 Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰσπράξεως τῶν φόρων ἤν τι λέγωσιν, ἕξομεν εἰπεῖν· πολὺ γὰρ ἐπιδείξομεν συμφορώτερα πράξαντας τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς τὸν φόρον ἐνεγκούσαις. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ προσταχθὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ γνόντες, ὅτε περ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἡμῖν τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἔδοσαν·
68 ἔπειτ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔφερον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῆς

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[a] That is, the Spartans. [b] See *Paneg.* 113, note.

are of the opinion that not even the gods are free from guilt, were I to strain my conscience and attempt to persuade you that our commonwealth has never erred in any instance whatsoever. Nevertheless, I think I shall do one thing, namely, show that the city of the Spartans, in handling situations such as I have mentioned, has been much more harsh and severe than Athens, and that those who seek to promote the reputation of the Spartans by calumniating us are short-sighted in the extreme and are themselves to blame for the bad repute which their own friends [a] incur at our hands. For whenever they make such charges against us, to which the Lacedaemonians are more open than ourselves, we do not find it difficult to cite against Sparta a graver offence in each case than that which has been charged against Athens.

For example, in the present instance, if they bring up the fact that the law-suits of the allies were tried in Athens, is there anyone so slow of wit as not to find the ready retort that the Lacedaemonians have put to death without trial more of the Hellenes [b] than have ever been brought to trial and judgement here since the founding of our city?

And if they make any complaint about our collection of the tribute, we shall be ready with a like rejoinder. For we shall show that our ancestors far more than the Lacedaemonians acted for the advantage of the states which paid them tribute. For, in the first place, these states did this, not because we had so commanded, but because they themselves had so resolved at the very time when they conferred upon us the supremacy by sea. In the next place, they paid their quotas, not to preserve Athens, but to preserve their own democratic polity and their own

ἐλευθερίας τῆς αὑτῶν καὶ τοῦ μὴ περιπεσεῖν
ὀλιγαρχίας γενομένης τηλικούτοις κακοῖς τὸ μέ-
γεθος, ἡλίκοις ἐπὶ τῶν δεκαδαρχιῶν καὶ τῆς
δυναστείας τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων. ἔτι δ᾽ οὐκ ἐκ
τούτων ἔφερον ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ διέσωσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφ᾽
69 ὧν δι᾽ ἡμᾶς εἶχον· ὑπὲρ ὧν, εἰ καὶ μικρὸς λογισμὸς
ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς, δικαίως ἂν χάριν εἶχον ἡμῖν. παρα-
λαβόντες γὰρ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν παν-
τάπασιν ἀναστάτους γεγενημένας ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων, τὰς δὲ πεπορθημένας, εἰς τοῦτο προ-
ηγάγομεν, ὥστε μικρὸν μέρος τῶν γιγνομένων ἡμῖν
διδόντας μηδὲν ἐλάττους ἔχειν τοὺς οἴκους Πελο-
ποννησίων τῶν οὐδένα φόρον ὑποτελούντων.

70 Περὶ τοίνυν τῶν ἀναστάτων γεγενημένων ὑφ᾽
ἑκατέρας τῶν πόλεων, ὃ μόνοις τινὲς ἡμῖν ὀνει-
[247] δίζουσιν, ἐπιδείξομεν πολὺ δεινότερα πεποιηκότας
οὓς ἐπαινοῦντες διατελοῦσιν. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ συν-
έπεσε περὶ νησύδρια τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὸ
μέγεθος ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἃ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδ᾽
ἴσασιν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις τῶν ἐν
Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ τὰς πανταχῇ προεχούσας τῶν
ἄλλων ἀναστάτους ποιήσαντες αὐτοὶ τἀκείνων
71 ἔχουσιν, ἃς ἄξιον ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐταῖς πρό-
τερον ὑπῆρχεν ἀγαθόν, τῆς μεγίστης δωρεᾶς παρὰ

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[a] The account here given of the Confederacy of Delos is a fair statement. It was in its origin a voluntary association of the Ionian Greeks, partly against Sparta, but mainly against the Persian Empire, not for protection merely, but for the enrichment of its members at the expense of the barbarians. Each member contributed its quota to the common cause, the more powerful members in ships, the weaker in money, *φόρος*. The quotas appear to have been fixed by Aristides, although approved by the synod of the

freedom and to escape falling into such great misfortunes, through the setting up of oligarchies, as were suffered under the "decarchies" and the domination of the Lacedaemonians. And, more than that, they paid these contributions, not from funds which they had treasured up through their own efforts, but from resources which they possessed through our aid.[a] In return for these resources, had they reflected in the slightest degree, they should in all fairness have been grateful to us; for we took over their cities in some instances when they had been utterly destroyed, in others when they had been sacked and plundered by the barbarians, and advanced them to such a state of prosperity that although they contributed to us a slight proportion of the wealth which flowed in upon them, their estates were no less prosperous than those of the Peloponnesians who paid no tribute whatsoever.

Furthermore, as to the cities which were laid waste under the rule of each of these states—a matter for which certain men reproach the Athenians alone—we shall show that things much more reprehensible were done by those whom these men are never weary of extolling. For it happened that we offended against islets so small and insignificant that many of the Hellenes do not even know of their existence, whereas the Lacedaemonians laid waste the greatest cities of the Peloponnesus—states which in every way were eminent above the others—and now hold for themselves the wealth of those states which, even supposing that in former times they possessed no merit, deserved the greatest possible rewards from

allies. See Thuc. v. 18; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 23, 24

τῶν Ἑλλήνων τυχεῖν διὰ τὴν στρατείαν τὴν ἐπὶ Τροίαν, ἐν ᾗ σφᾶς τε αὐτὰς παρέσχον πρωτευούσας καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀρετὰς ἔχοντας οὐ μόνον τὰς τοιαύτας ὧν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν φαύλων κοινωνοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνας ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν πονηρὸς
72 ὢν δυνηθείη μετασχεῖν. Μεσσήνη μὲν γὰρ Νέστορα παρέσχε τὸν φρονιμώτατον ἁπάντων τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γενομένων, Λακεδαίμων δὲ Μενέλαον τὸν διὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην μόνον ἀξιωθέντα Διὸς γενέσθαι κηδεστήν, ἡ δ' Ἀργείων πόλις Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ δύο σχόντα μόνον ἀρετάς, ἀλλὰ πάσας ὅσας ἂν
73 ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν, καὶ ταύτας οὐ μετρίως ἀλλ' ὑπερβαλλόντως· οὐδένα γὰρ εὑρήσομεν τῶν ἁπάντων οὔτ' ἰδιωτέρας πράξεις μεταχειρισάμενον οὔτε καλλίους οὔτε μείζους οὔτε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὠφελιμωτέρας οὔτε πλειόνων ἐπαίνων ἀξίας. καὶ τούτοις οὕτω μὲν ἀπηριθμημένοις εἰκότως ἄν τινες ἀπιστήσειαν, μικρῶν δὲ περὶ ἑκάστου ῥηθέντων ἅπαντες ἂν ἀληθῆ με λέγειν ὁμολογήσειαν.

74 Οὐ δύναμαι δὲ κατιδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπορῶ ποίοις ἂν λόγοις μετὰ ταῦτα χρησάμενος ὀρθῶς εἴην βεβουλευμένος. αἰσχύνομαι μὲν γάρ, εἰ τοσαῦτα περὶ τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀρετῆς προειρηκὼς μηδενὸς μνησθήσομαι τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πεπραγμένων, ἀλλὰ δόξω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὅμοιος εἶναι τοῖς ἀλαζονευομένοις καὶ λέγουσιν ὅ τι ἂν τύχωσιν· ὁρῶ δὲ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἔξω λεγομένας τῶν ὑποθέσεων οὐκ

the Hellenes because of the expedition against Troy in which they took the foremost place and furnished as its leaders men possessed not only of the virtues in which many of the common run of mankind have a part, but also of those in which no ignoble man may share. For Messene furnished Nestor, the wisest of all who lived in those times; Lacedaemon, Menelaus, who because of his moderation and his justice was the one man to be deemed worthy to become the son-in-law of Zeus;[a] and Argos, Agamemnon, who was possessed, not of one or two of the virtues merely, but of all which anyone can name—and these, not in moderate, but in surpassing degree. For we shall find that no one in all the world has ever undertaken deeds more distinctive, more noble, more important, more advantageous to the Hellenes, or deserving of higher praise. These are facts which, when thus barely enumerated, some may not unreasonably question, but when they have been supported in each instance by a few words, all men will acknowledge that I speak the truth.

However, I am not able to see clearly, but am in doubt, with what words I may proceed without making an error of judgement. For, on the one hand, I am ashamed, after having said so much about the virtue of Agamemnon, to make no mention of the things which he accomplished and so to seem to my hearers no different from men who make empty boasts and say whatever comes into their heads. But I observe, on the other hand, that the discussion of things which

[a] Helen, the wife of Menelaus, was the daughter of Zeus. See Homer, *Odyssey* iv. 569 and Isocrates, *Helen* 16.

ἐπαινουμένας ἀλλὰ ταραχώδεις εἶναι δοκούσας,
καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὄντας τοὺς κακῶς χρωμένους
75 αὐταῖς, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας. διὸ
[248] δέδοικα μὴ καὶ περὶ ἐμὲ συμβῇ τι τοιοῦτον. οὐ
μὴν ἀλλ' αἱροῦμαι βοηθῆσαι τῷ ταὐτὸν ἐμοί τε
καὶ πολλοῖς πεπονθότι, καὶ διημαρτηκότι τῆς
δόξης ἧς προσῆκε τυχεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ μεγίστων
μὲν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίῳ γεγενημένῳ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν
χρόνον, ἧττον δ' ἐπαινουμένῳ τῶν οὐδὲν ἄξιον
λόγου διαπεπραγμένων.

76 Τί γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐνέλιπεν, ὃς τηλικαύτην μὲν
ἔσχε τιμήν, ἧς εἰ πάντες συνελθόντες μείζω
ζητοῖεν, οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὑρεῖν δυνηθεῖεν; μόνος γὰρ
ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠξιώθη γενέσθαι στρατηγός.
ὁπότερον δέ, εἴθ' ὑπὸ πάντων αἱρεθεὶς εἴτ' αὐτὸς
κτησάμενος, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. ὁποτέρως δ' οὖν
συμβέβηκεν, οὐδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν λέλοιπε τῆς περὶ
77 αὐτὸν δόξης τοῖς ἄλλως πως τιμηθεῖσιν. ταύτην
δὲ λαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἥν τινα τῶν
Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἐλύπησεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἦν
πόρρω τοῦ περί τινας ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ὥστε παραλαβὼν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ταραχαῖς
καὶ πολλοῖς κακοῖς ὄντας τούτων μὲν αὐτοὺς
ἀπήλλαξεν, εἰς ὁμόνοιαν δὲ καταστήσας τὰ μὲν
περιττὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τερατώδη καὶ μηδὲν
ὠφελοῦντα τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερεῖδε, στρατόπεδον δὲ
78 συστήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἤγαγεν. τούτου

[a] Digressions such as the praise of Theseus in *Helen* and of Timotheus in *Antidosis* are effective elements of variety. The praise of Agamemnon here seems awkwardly dragged in. It is commonly thought that Agamemnon is a masque for Philip of Macedon. (See, for example, Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii. pp. 331, 334.) The simplest explana-

lie outside the scope of the subject [a] is not approved but is thought rather to be confusing, and that while many misuse these digressions there are many more who condemn them. Therefore I fear that I too may subject myself to some such criticism. Nevertheless, I elect to lend support to the man who has experienced the same misadventure as myself and many others and failed of the reputation he deserved, and who has been the author of the greatest services to the world of his time, albeit he is less praised than those who have done nothing worthy of mention.

For what element of glory did he lack who won a position of such exalted honour that, were all the world to unite on the search for a greater, no greater could be found? For he is the only man who was ever deemed worthy to be the leader of the armies of all Hellas. Whether he was elected by all or obtained this honour by himself, I am not able to say. But however this came about, he left no room for the rest of mankind who have in any wise won distinction since his time to surpass the glory which attaches to his name. And when he obtained this power, he harmed no city of Hellas; nay, so far was he from injuring any one of them that, although he took command of the Hellenes when they were in a state of mutual warfare and confusion and great misfortune, he delivered them from this condition, and, having established concord among them, indifferent to all exploits which are extravagant and spectacular and of no benefit to others, he collected the Hellenes into an army and led them forth against the bar-

tion, however, is hinted at in § 76. Agamemnon stood out in his mind as the first leader of all Hellas against the East —the first champion of the cause to which Isocrates dedicated his life.

δὲ κάλλιον στρατήγημα καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὠφελιμώτερον οὐδεὶς φανήσεται πράξας οὔτε τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον εὐδοκιμησάντων οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγενομένων. ἃ 'κεῖνος πράξας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποδείξας οὐχ οὕτως εὐδοκίμησεν, ὡς προσῆκεν αὐτόν, διὰ τοὺς μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶντας τὰς θαυματοποιίας τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδολογίας τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτος γενόμενος ἐλάττω δόξαν ἔχει τῶν οὐδὲ μιμήσασθαι τολμησάντων αὐτόν.

79 Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄν τις ἐπαινέσειεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' οἷς περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔπραξεν. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἦλθεν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν στρατιώτας τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὁπόσους ἐξ ἑκάστης ἐβουλήθη τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς ποιοῦντας ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ὅ τι βουληθεῖεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προστάττοντας, τούτους ἔπεισεν ὑφ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, καὶ συνακολουθεῖν ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἡγῆται, καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον, καὶ βασιλικὸν βίον ἀφέντας στρατιωτικῶς
80 ζῆν, ἔτι δὲ κινδυνεύειν καὶ πολεμεῖν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς
[249] σφετέρας αὐτῶν πατρίδος καὶ βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης τῆς Μενελάου γυναικός, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων μήτε τοιαῦτα μήθ' οἷα πρότερον αὐτῇ συνέπεσε περὶ τὴν Πέλοπος μὲν ἁπάσης Πελοποννήσου κατάληψιν, Δαναοῦ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀργείων, Κάδμου δὲ Θηβῶν· ὧν τίς ἄλλος

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[a] *Cf. Helen* 51.

[b] According to legend, Pelops, the Phrygian, settled in the Peloponnesus and gave his name to that territory;

barians. And no one will be found, among those who rose to fame in his time or in later generations, to have accomplished an expedition more honourable than this or more advantageous to the Hellenes. But although he achieved all this and set this example to the rest of the world, he did not receive the fame which was his due, because of those who delight more in stage-play than in services and in fiction than in truth ; nay, albeit he proved himself so great, he has a reputation which is less than that of men who have not ventured even to imitate his example.

But not for these things alone might one extol him, but also for the things he did at the same time. For he conceived of his mission in terms so lofty that he was not satisfied with making up his army from all the men in private station whom he desired to have from each of the cities of Hellas, but even persuaded men of the rank of kings, who were accustomed to do in their own states whatsoever they pleased and to give orders to the world at large, to place themselves under his command, to follow him against whomsoever he might lead them, to obey his orders, to abandon their royal manner of living and to share the life of soldiers in the field, and, furthermore, to imperil themselves and wage war, not for their own countries and kingdoms, but ostensibly for Helen, wife of Menelaus, though in reality for Hellas,[a] that she might not again suffer such an outrage at the hands of the barbarians nor such as befel her before that time in the seizure of the entire Peloponnesus by Pelops or of Argos by Danaus or of Thebes by Cadmus.[b] For what other

Cadmus, the Phoenician, founded Thebes ; Danaus, the Egyptian, became king of Argos—types of foreign invasion and conquest.

φανήσεται προνοηθείς, ἢ τίς ἐμποδὼν καταστὰς τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι γενέσθαι τοιοῦτον, πλὴν τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως καὶ δυνάμεως;

81 Τὸ τοίνυν ἐχόμενον, ὃ τῶν μὲν προειρημένων
ἔλαττόν ἐστι, τῶν δὲ πολλάκις ἐγκεκωμιασμένων
μεῖζον καὶ λόγου μᾶλλον ἄξιον· στρατόπεδον γὰρ
συνεληλυθὸς ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν πόλεων, τοσοῦτον τὸ
πλῆθος ὅσον εἰκός, ὃ πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἐν αὑτῷ τοὺς
μὲν ἀπὸ θεῶν τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν γε-
γονότας, οὐκ ὁμοίως διακειμένους τοῖς πολλοῖς
οὐδ' ἴσον φρονοῦντας τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' ὀργῆς καὶ
82 θυμοῦ καὶ φθόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας μεστούς, ἀλλ'
ὅμως τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔτη δέκα κατέσχεν οὐ μισθο-
φοραῖς μεγάλαις οὐδὲ χρημάτων δαπάναις, αἷς
νῦν ἅπαντες δυναστεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ καὶ τῇ
φρονήσει διαφέρειν καὶ δύνασθαι τροφὴν ἐκ τῶν
πολεμίων τοῖς στρατιώταις πορίζειν, καὶ μάλιστα
τῷ δοκεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἄμεινον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων
βουλεύεσθαι σωτηρίας ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους περὶ σφῶν
αὐτῶν.

83 Τὸ τοίνυν τέλος, ὃ πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπέθηκεν, οὐδενὸς ἧττον προσήκει θαυμάζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς οὐδ' ἀνάξιον τῶν προειρημένων φανήσεται ποιησάμενος, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ μὲν πρὸς μίαν πόλιν πολεμήσας, ἔργῳ δ' οὐ μόνον πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα γένη πολλὰ τῶν βαρβάρων κινδυνεύων οὐκ ἀπεῖπεν οὐδ' ἀπῆλθε, πρὶν τήν τε πόλιν τοῦ τολμήσαντος

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[a] *Cf. Helen* 52.

[b] Mercenary armies were now commonly relied upon even in Athens. See *Peace* 44 ff.

man in the world will be found to have had forethought in these matters or to have taken measures to prevent any such misfortune in the future except one of Agamemnon's character and power ?

There is, moreover, connected with the above achievement one which, though less significant than those which I have mentioned, is more important and more deserving of mention than those which have been extolled again and again. For he commanded an army which had come together from all the cities of Hellas, a host whose size may be imagined since it contained many of the descendants of the gods and of the direct sons of the gods [a]—men who were not of the same temper as the majority of mankind nor on the same plane of thinking, but full of pride and passion and envy and ambition—, and yet he held that army together for ten years, not by great bribes nor by outlays of money, by which means all rulers nowadays maintain their power,[b] but by the supremacy of his genius, by his ability to provide from the enemy subsistence for his soldiers, and most of all by his reputation of being better advised in the interest of others than others in their own interest.

But the final achievement by which he crowned all these is no less worthy of admiration. For he will be found to have done nothing unseemly or unworthy of these exploits which I have already described ; on the contrary, although he waged war, ostensibly against a single city, but in reality not only against all the peoples who dwelt in Asia but also against many other races of the barbarians, he did not give up fighting nor depart for home before reducing to slavery the city of him who had offended against

ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἔπαυσεν ὑβρίζοντας.
84 Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰρημένων περὶ
τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀρετῆς, οὐδ' ὅτι τούτων καθ'
ἓν μὲν ἕκαστον εἴ τινες σκοποῖντο τί ἂν ἀποδοκιμά-
[250] σαιεν, οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφελεῖν τολμήσειεν,
ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἀναγιγνωσκομένων ἅπαντες ἂν ἐπι-
τιμήσαιεν ὡς πολὺ πλείοσιν εἰρημένοις τοῦ δέοντος.
85 ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν ἔλαθον ἐμαυτὸν πλεονάζων, ᾐσχυ-
νόμην ἄν, εἰ γράφειν ἐπιχειρῶν περὶ ὧν μηδεὶς
ἂν ἄλλος ἐτόλμησεν, οὕτως ἀναισθήτως διεκείμην·
νῦν δ' ἀκριβέστερον ᾔδειν τῶν ἐπιπλήττειν μοι
τολμησόντων, ὅτι πολλοὶ τούτοις ἐπιτιμήσουσιν·
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡγησάμην οὐχ οὕτως ἔσεσθαι δεινόν, ἢν
ἐπὶ τοῦ μέρους τούτου δόξω τισὶ τῶν καιρῶν
ἀμελεῖν, ὡς ἢν περὶ ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου διαλεγόμενος
παραλίπω τι τῶν ἐκείνῳ τε προσόντων ἀγαθῶν
86 κἀμοὶ προσηκόντων εἰπεῖν. ᾤμην δὲ καὶ παρὰ
τοῖς χαριεστάτοις τῶν ἀκροατῶν εὐδοκιμήσειν,
ἢν φαίνωμαι περὶ ἀρετῆς μὲν τοὺς λόγους ποιού-
μενος, ὅπως δὲ ταύτης ἀξίως ἐρῶ μᾶλλον σπου-
δάζων ἢ περὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου συμμετρίαν, καὶ
ταῦτα σαφῶς εἰδὼς τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸν λόγον ἀ-
καιρίαν ἀδοξότερον ἐμὲ ποιήσουσαν, τὴν δὲ περὶ
τὰς πράξεις εὐβουλίαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους
ὠφελήσουσαν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ τὸ λυσιτελὲς ἐάσας
87 τὸ δίκαιον εἱλόμην. οὐ μόνον δ' ἂν εὑρεθείην
ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις ταύτην ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν,
ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πάντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν πεπλη-
σιακότων μοι φανείην ἂν μᾶλλον χαίρων τοῖς ἐπὶ

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[a] Paris, who carried off Helen, the wife of Menelaus.

Hellas [a] and putting an end to the insolence of the barbarians.

I am well aware of the space which I have given to the praises of Agamemnon's virtue; I am well aware also that if any of you should go over these one by one, many as they are, to see what might be rejected, no one would venture to subtract a single word, and yet I know that when they are read one after the other, all will criticize me for having said much more than I should. For my part, if I inadvertently prolonged this topic I should be ashamed of being so lacking in perception when discoursing on a subject which no one has even ventured to discuss. But in fact I knew much better than those who will dare to take me to task that many will criticize this excess. I considered, however, that it would be less objectionable to be thought by some to disregard due measure in this part of my discourse than to leave out, in speaking of such a man, any of the merits which belong to him and which it behoves me to mention. I thought also that I should be applauded by the most cultivated of my hearers if I could show that I was more concerned when discoursing on the subject of virtue about doing justice to the theme than about the symmetry of my speech—and that too, knowing well that the lack of due proportion in my speech would detract from my own reputation, while just appreciation of their deeds would enhance the fame of those whose praises I sing. Nevertheless I bade farewell to expediency and chose justice instead. And you will find that I am of this mind not only in what I am now saying but likewise upon all occasions, since it will be seen that I take more pleasure in those of my disciples who are distinguished

τῷ βίῳ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐδοκιμοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους δεινοῖς εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. καίτοι τῶν μὲν εὖ ῥηθέντων, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν συμβαλοίμην, ἅπαντες ἂν ἐμοὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθεῖεν, τῶν δ' ὀρθῶς πραττομένων εἰ καὶ πάντες εἰδεῖέν με σύμβουλον γεγενημένον, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν τὸν μεταχειριζόμενον τὰς πράξεις ἐπαινέσειεν.

88 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι τυγχάνω φερόμενος· ἀεὶ γὰρ οἰόμενος δεῖν προστιθέναι τὸ τῶν προειρημένων ἐχόμενον, παντάπασι πόρρω γέγονα τῆς ὑποθέσεως. λοιπὸν οὖν ἐστιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο, πλὴν αἰτησάμενον τῷ γήρᾳ συγγνώμην ὑπὲρ τῆς λήθης καὶ τῆς μακρολογίας, τῶν εἰθισμένων παραγίγνεσθαι τοῖς τηλικούτοις, ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὸν τόπον
89 ἐκεῖνον ἐξ οὗπερ εἰσέπεσον εἰς τὴν περιττολογίαν
[251] ταύτην. οἶμαι δ' ἤδη καθορᾶν ὅθεν ἐπλανήθην· τοῖς γὰρ ὀνειδίζουσιν ἡμῶν τῇ πόλει τὰς Μηλίων καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων πολιχνίων συμφορὰς ἀντέλεγον, οὐχ ὡς οὐχ ἡμαρτημένων τούτων, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεικνύων τοὺς ἀγαπωμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολὺ πλείους πόλεις καὶ μείζους ἡμῶν ἀναστάτους πεποιηκότας, ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Μενελάου καὶ Νέστορος διελέχθην, ψεῦδος μὲν οὐδὲν λέγων, πλείω δ' ἴσως
90 τῶν μετρίων. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίουν ὑπολαβὼν οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον ἁμάρτημα τοῦτο δόξειν εἶναι τῶν τολμησάντων ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι τὰς πόλεις τὰς γεννησάσας καὶ θρεψάσας τοιούτους ἄνδρας, περὶ ὧν καὶ νῦν ἔχοι τις ἂν πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς χρή-

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[a] These last two paragraphs show striking use of antithesis and parisosis—devices of rhetoric which at the begin-

for the character of their lives and deeds than in those who are reputed to be able speakers. And yet when they speak well, all men will assign the credit to me, even though I contribute nothing to what they say, whereas when they act right no man will fail to commend the doer of the deed even though all the world may know that it was I who advised him what to do.[a]

But I do not know whither I am drifting.[b] For, because I think all the time that I must add the point which logically follows what I have said before, I have wandered entirely from my subject. There is, therefore, nothing left for me to do but to crave indulgence to old age for my forgetfulness and prolixity—faults which are wont to be found in men of my years—and go back to the place from which I fell into this garrulous strain. For I think that I now see the point from which I strayed. I was speaking in reply to those who reproach us with the misfortunes of the Melians and of villages with like populations, not meaning that we had done no wrong in these instances, but trying to show that those who are the idols of these speakers have laid waste more and greater cities than the Athenians have done, in which connexion I discussed the virtues of Agamemnon and Menelaus and Nestor, saying nothing that was not true, though passing, mayhap, the bounds of moderation. But I did this, supposing that it would be apparent that there could be no greater crime than that of those who dared lay waste the cities which bred and reared such great men, about whom even now one might say many noble things.

ning of this discourse he pretends to have outgrown. See 2 and note. [b] For this rhetorical doubt *cf. Antid.* 310.

σασθαι λόγοις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως ἀνόητόν ἐστι περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν διατρίβειν, ὥσπερ ἀπορίας οὔσης τί ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς ὠμότητος καὶ χαλεπότητος τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλῆς ἀφθονίας ὑπαρχούσης.

91 Οἷς οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε περὶ τὰς πόλεις ταύτας καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς τοιούτους ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁρμηθέντας καὶ κοινὴν τὴν στρατείαν ποιησαμένους καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων μετασχόντας, λέγω δὲ περὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἐπεθύμησαν ταῖς αὐταῖς συμφοραῖς περιβαλεῖν αἷσπερ ἐκείνους· καὶ Μεσσηνίους μὲν πολιορκοῦντες οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο, πρὶν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς χώρας, Ἀργείοις δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἔτι καὶ νῦν πολεμοῦσιν.

92 ἃ τοίνυν περὶ Πλαταιᾶς ἔπραξαν, ἄτοπος ἂν εἴην, εἰ ταῦτ' εἰρηκὼς ἐκείνων μὴ μνησθείην· ὧν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, καὶ παραταξάμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ θυσάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων
93 ἱδρυμένοις, οὐ μόνον ἠλευθερώσαμεν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς μεθ' ἡμῶν ὄντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκασθέντας γενέσθαι μετ' ἐκείνων, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράξαμεν Πλαταιέας λάβοντες μόνους Βοιωτῶν συναγωνιστάς· οὓς οὐ πολὺν χρόνον διαλιπόντες Λακεδαι-

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[a] In the Trojan War.

[b] The distinction—not altogether clear—is between the older and the later inhabitants.

[c] For the conquest of Messene see *Archid.* 26 ff. The Spartans and Argives were almost always at war. See *Phil.* 51.

[d] The battle of Plataea was the final, decisive battle of the Persian Wars. [e] See Thuc. ii. 71, 72.

But it is perhaps foolish to linger upon a single point, as if there were any lack, as if there were not, on the contrary, a superabundance of things to say about the cruelty and the harshness of the Lacedaemonians.

For the Lacedaemonians were not satisfied with wronging these cities and men of this character, but treated in the same way those who had set out with them from the same country, joined with them in the same expedition, and shared with them the same perils [a]—I mean the Argives and the Messenians. For they determined to plunge these also into the very same misfortunes which had been visited upon their former victims.[b] They did not cease laying siege to the Messenians until they had driven them from their territory, and with the same object they are even now making war upon the Argives.[c] Furthermore, it would be strange if, having spoken of these wrongs, I failed to mention their treatment of the Plataeans. It was on the soil of Plataea that the Lacedaemonians had encamped with us and with the other allies, drawn up for battle against our enemies;[d] there they had offered sacrifices to the deities worshipped by the Plataeans;[e] and there we had won freedom, not only for the Hellenes who fought with us, but also for those who were compelled to be on the side of the Persians,[f] and we accomplished this with the help of the Plataeans, who alone of the Boeotians fought with us in that war.[g] And yet, after no great interval of time, the

[f] The Greek cities on the Asiatic sea-board, which had been subject to Persia.

[g] The Thebans had "Medized." The Plataeans in this battle acquitted themselves well; according to Plutarch (*Aristides* 20), they were awarded the meed of valour. *Cf. Plataicus* 57 ff., Vol. III., L.C.L.

μόνιοι, χαριζόμενοι Θηβαίοις, ἐκπολιορκήσαντες [252] ἅπαντας ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν τῶν ἀποδρᾶναι δυνηθέντων.

Περὶ οὓς ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ὁμοία γέγονεν
94 ἐκείνοις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ περί τε τοὺς εὐεργέτας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς τοὺς αὑτῶν τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἐτόλμησαν, οἱ δ᾽ ἡμέτεροι Μεσσηνίων μὲν τοὺς διασωθέντας εἰς Ναύπακτον κατῴκισαν, Πλαταιέων δὲ τοὺς περιγενομένους πολίτας ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὑτοῖς ἁπάντων μετέδοσαν. ὥστ᾽ εἰ μηδὲν εἴχομεν ἄλλο περὶ τοῖν πολέοιν εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τούτων ῥᾴδιον εἶναι καταμαθεῖν τὸν τρόπον ἑκατέρας αὐτῶν, καὶ ποτέρα πλείους πόλεις καὶ μείζους ἀναστάτους πεποίηκεν.

95 Αἰσθάνομαι δὲ πάθος μοι συμβαῖνον ἐναντίον τοῖς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἰρημένοις· τότε μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἄγνοιαν καὶ πλάνον καὶ λήθην ἐνέπεσον, νῦν δ᾽ οἶδα σαφῶς ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἐμμένοντα τῇ πραότητι τῇ περὶ τὸν λόγον, ἣν εἶχον ὅτ᾽ ἠρχόμην γράφειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λέγειν τ᾽ ἐπιχειροῦντα περὶ ὧν οὐκ ᾤμην ἐρεῖν, θρασύτερόν τε διακείμενον ἢ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτόν, ἀκρατῆ τε γιγνόμενον ἐνίων ὧν λέγω διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰπεῖν ἐπιρρεόντων.

96 Ἐπειδή περ οὖν ἐπελήλυθέ μοι τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι, καὶ λέλυκα τὸ στόμα, καὶ τοιαύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐποιησάμην ὥστε μήτε καλὸν εἶναί μοι

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[a] *Cf. Plataicus* 62.

[b] This was done by King Archidamus, who in the course of the Peloponnesian War besieged and took Plataea, 427 B.C. The walls of the town were razed, the women and children sold into slavery, the defenders slain, excepting some two

Lacedaemonians, to gratify Thebes,[a] reduced the Plataeans by siege and put them all to the sword with the exception of those who had been able to escape through their lines.[b]

Little did Athens resemble Sparta in the treatment of these peoples ; for, while the Lacedaemonians did not scruple to commit such wrongs both against the benefactors of Hellas and against their own kinsmen,[c] our ancestors, on the other hand, gave the surviving Messenians a home in Naupactus [d] and adopted the Plataeans who had escaped with their lives as Athenian citizens and shared with them all the privileges which they themselves enjoyed.[e] So that if we had nothing else to say about these two cities, it is easy to judge from these instances what was the character of each and which of the two laid waste more and greater cities.

I perceive that my feelings are changing to the opposite of those which I described a little while ago. For then I fell into a state of doubt and perplexity and forgetfulness, but now I realize clearly that I am not keeping the mildness of speech which I had when I began to write my discourse ; on the contrary, I am venturing to discuss matters about which I did not think that I should speak, I am more aggressive in temper than is my wont, and I am losing control over some of the things which I utter because of the multitude of things which rush into my mind to say.

Since, however, the impulse has come to me to speak frankly and I have removed the curb from my tongue, and since I took a subject which is of such a

hundred who escaped and found refuge in Athens. See Thuc. iii. 57 ff.

[c] Fellow-Dorians.

[d] On the Corinthian gulf. For this event see Thuc. i. 103.

[e] See *Paneg.* 109, note.

μήτε δυνατὸν παραλιπεῖν τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις, ἐξ ὧν οἷόντ' ἐστὶν ἐπιδεικνύναι πλέονος ἀξίαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν γεγενημένην περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κατασιωπητέον οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν τῶν οὔπω μὲν εἰρημένων ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι γεγενημένων, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεικτέον τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους ὀψιμαθεῖς αὐτῶν γεγενημένους, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τὰ μὲν πρώτους τὰ δὲ μόνους ἐξαμαρτόντας.

97 Πλεῖστοι μὲν οὖν κατηγοροῦσιν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν πολέοιν, ὅτι προσποιούμεναι κινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ εἴασαν τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ διοικῆσαι τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν ὅπως ἑκάστη συνέφερεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αἰχμαλώτους εἰληφυῖαι διελόμεναι κατεδουλώσαντο πάσας αὐτάς, καὶ παραπλήσιον ἐποίησαν τοῖς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς οἰκέτας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρουμένοις, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς δουλεύειν ἀναγκάζουσιν.

98 Τοῦ δὲ λέγεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ
[253] πικρότερα τούτων οὐχ ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν μὲν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἡμῖν ἀντιτεταγμένοι, τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἅπασιν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρους προγόνους οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπιδείξειεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπέκεινα χρόνοις τοῖς ἀναριθμήτοις οὐδεμιᾶς πόλεως οὔτε μείζονος οὔτ' ἐλάττονος ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρήσαντας· Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ πάντες ἴσασιν, ἀφ' οὗ περ εἰς Πελοπόννησον εἰσῆλθον, οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράττοντας οὐδὲ βουλευομένους πλὴν ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν ἁπάντων ἄρξουσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, Πελοποννησίων.

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[a] *Cf.* 101.

character that it is neither honourable nor possible to leave out the kind of facts from which it can be proved that our city has been of greater service to the Hellenes than Lacedaemon, I must not be silent either about the other wrongs which have not yet been told, albeit they have been done among the Hellenes, but must show that our ancestors have been slow pupils [a] in wrong-doing, whereas the Lacedaemonians have in some respects been the first to point the way and in others have been the sole offenders.

Now most people upbraid both cities because, while pretending that they risked the perils of war against the barbarians for the sake of the Hellenes, they did not in fact allow the various states to be independent and manage their own affairs in whatever way was expedient for each of them, but, on the contrary, divided them up, as if they had taken them captive in war, and reduced them all to slavery, acting no differently than those who rob others of their slaves, on the pretext of liberating them, only to compel them to slave for their new masters.

But it is not the fault of the Athenians that these complaints are made and many others more bitter than these, but rather of those who now in what is being said, as in times past in all that has been done, have been in the opposite camp from us. For no man can show that our ancestors during the countless years of our early history ever attempted to impose our rule over any city great or small, whereas all men know that the Lacedaemonians, from the time when they entered the Peloponnesus, have had no other object in their deeds or in their designs than to impose their rule if possible over all men but, failing that, over the peoples of the Peloponnesus.

99 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς στάσεις καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν μεταβολάς, ἃς ἀμφοτέροις τινὲς ἡμῖν ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἂν φανεῖεν ἁπάσας τὰς πόλεις πλὴν ὀλίγων μεστὰς πεποιηκότες τῶν τοιούτων συμφορῶν καὶ νοσημάτων, τὴν δ' ἡμετέραν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν τολμήσειε πρὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γενομένης ὡς τοιοῦ-
100 τον ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις τι διαπραξαμένην. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κύριοι καταστάντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάλιν ἐξέπιπτον ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς στασιαζουσῶν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων δύ' ἢ τρεῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων, οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι τἀληθές, ἐξήμαρτον περί τινας αὐτῶν ἐλπίζοντες, ἢν μιμήσωνται τὰς Σπαρτιατῶν πράξεις, μᾶλλον αὐτὰς δυνήσεσθαι κατα-
101 σχεῖν. ὥστε δικαίως ἂν ἐκείνοις μὲν ἅπαντες ἐγκαλέσειαν ὡς ἀρχηγοῖς γεγενημένοις καὶ διδασκάλοις τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, τοῖς δ' ἡμετέροις, ὥσπερ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπισχνουμένων ἐξηπατημένοις καὶ διημαρτηκόσι τῶν ἐλπίδων, εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμην ἔχοιεν.

102 Τὸ τοίνυν τελευταῖον, ὃ μόνοι καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἔπραξαν, τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι κοινῆς ἡμῖν τῆς ἔχθρας ὑπαρχούσης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας αὐτῶν, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν πολέμοις πολλοῖς γιγνόμενοι καὶ μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς ἐνίοτε περι-

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[a] See *Paneg.* 114.

[b] At Aegospotami, 405 B.C. See *Paneg.* 119.

[c] See, however, Isocrates' bitter attack upon the Athenian militaristic policy in the *Peace*, especially 44. Among the Athenian generals, he is here thinking mainly of Chares (the enemy and opposite of his friend and pupil, Timotheus. See *Antid.* 129 and note), who seems to have uniformly

And as to the stirring up of faction and slaughter and revolution in these cities, which certain critics impute both to Athens and to Sparta, you will find that the Lacedaemonians have filled all the states, excepting a very few, with these misfortunes and afflictions,[a] whereas no one would dare even to allege that our city, before the disaster which befel her in the Hellespont,[b] ever perpetrated such a thing among her allies. But when the Lacedaemonians, after having been in the position of dictators over the Hellenes, were being driven from control of affairs—at that juncture, when the other cities were rent by faction, two or three of our generals (I will not hide the truth from you) mistreated some of them, thinking that if they should imitate the deeds of Spartans they would be better able to control them.[c] Therefore all may justly charge the Lacedaemonians with having been the instigators and teachers of such deeds, but may with good reason make allowance for us, as for pupils who have been deceived by the false promises of their tutors and disappointed in their expectations.

I come now finally to those offences which they alone and by themselves committed.[d] Who does not know that the Spartans, notwithstanding that they and we harbour in common a feeling of hatred towards the barbarians and their kings, and notwithstanding that the Athenians, although beset by many wars and involved at times in great disasters, their territory

preferred force to persuasion or conciliation in the treatment of the Athenian allies. See Introduction to *Peace*.

[d] That is, conduct of the Spartans which has no parallel in Athenian history. Compare, for the contrast here drawn between Sparta and Athens in their feeling for the barbarians, *Paneg.* 156-159, 120, 121.

πίπτοντες καὶ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν θαμὰ πορθουμένης καὶ τεμνομένης οὐδεπώποτ' ἐβλέψαμεν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπεβούλευσαν μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς διετελέσαμεν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακῶς ἡμᾶς
103 ποιοῦντας· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οὔτε πάσχοντες κακὸν
[254] οὐδὲν οὔτε μέλλοντες οὔτε δεδιότες εἰς τοῦτ' ἀπληστίας ἦλθον, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν οὕτως ἐπεθύμησαν λαβεῖν, ὥστε κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τούς τε συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀφίστασαν, ἐλευθερώσειν αὐτοὺς ὑπισχνούμενοι, καὶ βασιλεῖ περὶ φιλίας διελέγοντο καὶ συμμαχίας, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ φάσκοντες ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐπὶ
104 τῆς Ἀσίας κατοικοῦντας, πίστεις δὲ δόντες τούτοις ἀμφοτέροις καὶ καταπολεμήσαντες ἡμᾶς, οὓς μὲν ἐλευθερώσειν ὤμοσαν, κατεδουλώσαντο μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς Εἵλωτας, βασιλεῖ δὲ τοιαύτην χάριν ἀπέδοσαν ὥστ' ἔπεισαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Κῦρον ὄντα νεώτερον ἀμφισβητεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ στρατόπεδον αὐτῷ συναγαγόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν Κλέ-
105 αρχον ἐπιστήσαντες ἀνέπεμψαν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον· ἀτυχήσαντες δ' ἐν τούτοις καὶ γνωσθέντες ὧν ἐπεθύμουν, καὶ μισηθέντες ὑπὸ πάντων, εἰς πόλεμον καὶ ταραχὰς τοσαύτας κατέστησαν ὅσας εἰκὸς τοὺς καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐξημαρτηκότας.

Περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγοντα δια-

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[a] In the Peloponnesian War.

[b] The Treaty of Miletus, 412 B.C. See Thuc. viii. 18.

being often ravaged and cut off by the enemy,[a] never once turned their eyes towards friendship and alliance with the barbarians, but continued steadfastly to cherish a stronger hatred against them because of what they plotted against the Hellenes than we feel towards those who now seek to injure Athens—who does not know, I say, that the Spartans, although untroubled by any evil or even by any prospect or fear of evil, advanced to such a pitch of greed that they were not satisfied to hold the supremacy by land, but were so greedy to obtain also the empire of the sea that at one and the same time they were inciting our allies to revolt, undertaking to liberate them from our power, and were negotiating with the Persian king a treaty of friendship and alliance,[b] promising to give over to him all the Hellenes who dwelt on the Asiatic coast? And yet, after they had given these pledges both to our allies and to the King and had conquered us in war, they reduced those whom they had sworn to set free to a state of slavery worse than that of the Helots,[c] and they returned the favour of the King in such wise that they persuaded Cyrus, his younger brother, to dispute the throne with him, and collected an army to support Cyrus, placing Clearchus at its head, and dispatched it against the King.[d] But having failed in this treachery and betrayed their purposes to the world and made themselves hated by all mankind, they were plunged into such a state of warfare and confusion as men should expect after having played false with both the Hellenes and the barbarians.

I do not know what I need to take the time to say

[c] See *Paneg.* 111 and note.
[d] For this episode see *Peace* 98 and note.

τρίβειν, πλὴν ὅτι καταναυμαχηθέντες ὑπό τε τῆς
βασιλέως δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς Κόνωνος στρατηγίας
106 τοιαύτην ἐποιήσαντο τὴν εἰρήνην, ἧς οὐδεὶς ἂν
ἐπιδείξειεν οὔτ' αἰσχίω πώποτε γενομένην οὔτ'
ἐπονειδιστοτέραν οὔτ' ὀλιγωροτέραν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
οὔτ' ἐναντιωτέραν τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπό τινων περὶ
τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων· οἵ τινες, ὅτε μὲν
αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς δεσπότας τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατ-
έστησεν, ἀφελέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν
εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἐπεχείρησαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατα-
ναυμαχήσας ταπεινοὺς ἐποίησεν, οὐ μικρὸν μέρος
αὐτῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρέδωκαν ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς
τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντας, διαρρήδην γράψαντες χρῆ-
107 σθαι τοῦθ' ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται, καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύν-
θησαν τοιαύτας ποιούμενοι τὰς ὁμολογίας περὶ
ἀνδρῶν, οἷς χρώμενοι συμμάχοις ἡμῶν τε περι-
εγένοντο καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριοι κατέστησαν καὶ
τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν ἤλπισαν κατασχήσειν, ἀλλὰ
[255] τὰς τοιαύτας συνθήκας αὐτοί τ' ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖς
σφετέροις αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους
ἠνάγκασαν.

108 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους οὐκ οἴομαι πράξεων ἑτέρων
ἐπιθυμήσειν ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἱκανῶς
μεμαθηκέναι νομιεῖν ὁποία τις τοῖν πολέοιν ἑκατέρα
περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας γέγονεν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐχ οὕτω τυγ-
χάνω διακείμενος, ἀλλ' ἡγοῦμαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἣν
ἐποιησάμην ἄλλων τε πολλῶν προσδεῖσθαι λόγων,
καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐπιδειξόντων τὴν ἄνοιαν τῶν
ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐπιχειρησόντων· οὓς

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[a] The battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C., in which the Spartan

further about them except that after they had been defeated in the naval battle [a] by the forces of the King and by the leadership of Conon they made a peace [b] of such a character that no one can point out in all history one more shameful, more reprehensible, more derogatory to the Hellenes, or more contradictory to what is said by certain eulogists of the virtue of the Lacedaemonians. For when the King had established them as masters over the Hellenes, they attempted to rob him of his kingdom and of all his good fortune, but when the King defeated them in battle on the sea and humbled them, they gave over to him, not a small contingent of the Hellenes, but all those who dwelt in Asia, explicitly writing into the treaty that he should do with these according to his pleasure; and they were not ashamed of entering into such covenants regarding men by whose help as allies they prevailed over us, became masters of the Hellenes, and expected to subdue the whole of Asia; on the contrary, they inscribed such covenants in their own temples [c] and compelled their allies to do the same.

Now others will not care, I suppose, to hear about any further deeds, but will think that they have learned well enough from those which I have described what has been the character of each of these two states in their treatment of the Hellenes. I, however, do not share this feeling but consider that the subject which I undertook requires still many other arguments, and above all such as will show the folly of those who will attempt to refute what I have

fleet was defeated by the joint fleets of Conon, the Athenian admiral, and Pharnabazus, the Persian satrap.

[b] Peace of Antalcidas. See *Paneg.* 115 and note.

[c] See *Paneg.* 180.

109 οἴομαι ῥᾳδίως εὑρήσειν. τῶν γὰρ ἀποδεχομένων
ἁπάσας τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων πράξεις, τοὺς μὲν
βελτίστους αὐτῶν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πλεῖστον νοῦν
ἔχοντας τὴν μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν πολιτείαν ἐπαινέ-
σεσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἕξειν περὶ αὐτῆς ἥνπερ
πρότερον, περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας πεπραγ-
110 μένων ὁμονοήσειν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, τοὺς
δὲ φαυλοτέρους οὐ μόνον τούτων ὄντας ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ περὶ μὲν ἄλλου πράγματος
οὐδενὸς ἂν οἵους τε γενομένους ἀνεκτῶς εἰπεῖν,
περὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ δυναμένους σιωπᾶν,
ἀλλὰ προσδοκῶντας, ἢν ὑπερβάλλοντας τοὺς ἐπαί-
νους περὶ ἐκείνων ποιῶνται, τὴν αὐτὴν λήψεσθαι
δόξαν τοῖς ἁδροτέροις αὐτῶν καὶ πολὺ βελτίοσιν
111 εἶναι δοκοῦσι· τοὺς δὴ τοιούτους, ἐπειδὰν αἴσθωνται
τοὺς τόπους ἅπαντας προκατειλημμένους καὶ μηδὲ
πρὸς ἓν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχωσι τῶν εἰρημένων, ἐπὶ τὸν
λόγον οἶμαι τρέψεσθαι τὸν περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ
παραβάλλοντας τἀκεῖ καθεστῶτα τοῖς ἐνθάδε, καὶ
μάλιστα τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ πειθαρχίαν πρὸς τὰς
παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ὀλιγωρίας, ἐκ τούτων ἐγκωμιάσειν τὴν
Σπάρτην.

112 Ἢν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῶσί τι ποιεῖν, προσήκει
τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας ληρεῖν νομίζειν αὐτούς. ἐγὼ
γὰρ ὑπεθέμην οὐχ ὡς περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν δια-
λεξόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπιδείξων τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν πολὺ
πλείονος ἀξίαν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας
γεγενημένην. ἢν μὲν οὖν ἀναιρῶσί τι τούτων, ἢ
πράξεις ἑτέρας κοινὰς λέγωσι περὶ ἃς ἐκεῖνοι
βελτίους ἡμῶν γεγόνασιν, εἰκότως ἂν ἐπαίνου
[256] τυγχάνοιεν· ἢν δὲ λέγειν ἐπιχειρῶσι περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ
μηδεμίαν μνείαν ποιησαίμην, δικαίως ἂν ἅπασιν

said, and these arguments I think I shall find ready at hand. For of those who applaud all the actions of the Lacedaemonians, the best and the most discerning will, I think, commend the polity of the Spartans and remain of the same opinion about it as before, but will concede the truth of what I have said about the things which they have done to the Hellenes. Those, however, who are inferior not only to these but to the great majority of men and who could not speak tolerably about any other subject, albeit they are not able to keep silent about the Lacedaemonians, but expect that if they extol them extravagantly they will gain a reputation equal to those who are reputed abler and much better than themselves—these men, when they perceive that all the topics have been covered and find themselves unable to gainsay a single point which I have made, will, I think, turn their attention to the question of polities, comparing the institutions of Sparta and of Athens, and especially their sobriety and discipline with our carelessness and slackness, and will eulogize the Spartans on these grounds.

If, however, they attempt anything of the sort, all intelligent men should condemn them as speaking beside the point. For I undertook my subject with the avowed purpose, not of discussing polities, but of proving that our city has been of much greater service to the Hellenes than has the city of the Lacedaemonians. If, then, they can overthrow any of these proofs or cite other achievements common to both these cities in which the Spartans have shown themselves superior to us, naturally they should be commended. But if they attempt to bring in matters of which I have made no mention, they will deserve

113 ἀναισθήτως ἔχειν δοκοῖεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδή περ αὐτοὺς οἴομαι τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐμβαλεῖν, οὐκ ὀκνήσω διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν· οἶμαι γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἐπιδείξειν πλέον διενεγκοῦσαν ἢ τοῖς ἤδη προειρημένοις.

114 Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι περὶ ταύτης, ἣν ἀναγκασθέντες μετελάβομεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων, ἧς οὐ καταφρονήσαντες οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν καθεστῶσαν ὥρμησαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις πολὺ σπουδαιοτέραν ἐκείνην προκρίναντες, περὶ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ταύτην χρησιμωτέραν εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἣν λαβόντες καὶ καλῶς ἐπιμεληθέντες οἷοί τ' ἐγένοντο καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς τὰς Σπαρτιατῶν ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τὴν Πελοποννησίων ἁπάντων ῥώμην, ὧν κατήπειγε τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα περιγενέσθαι πολεμοῦσαν.
115 ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἂν δικαίως ἐπιτιμήσειε τοῖς ἑλομένοις αὐτήν· οὐ γὰρ διήμαρτον τῶν ἐλπίδων, οὐδ' ἠγνόησαν οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὔτε τῶν κακῶν τῶν προσόντων ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν δυνάμεων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ᾔδεσαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπ' εὐταξίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πειθαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων μελετωμένην, τὴν δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν οὐκ ἐκ τούτων αὐξανομένην,
116 ἀλλ' ἔκ τε τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τῶν

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[a] The democracy of Solon and Cleisthenes, much praised in the *Areopagiticus*.

[b] Beginning with Aristides and Themistocles, especially the latter, who made Athens a sea-power.

the censure of all for their lack of perception. Nevertheless, since I anticipate that they will inject the question of polities into the debate, I shall not shrink from discussing it. For I think that I shall prove that in this very matter our city has excelled more than in those which I have already mentioned.

And let no one suppose that I have said these things with reference to our present polity, which we were forced by circumstances to adopt, but rather with reference to the polity of our ancestors,[a] from which our fathers [b] changed over to that which is now in force, not because they condemned the older polity —on the contrary, for the other activities of the state they preferred it as much superior—, but because they considered that for the exercise of supremacy by sea this polity was more expedient by adopting which and wisely administering it they were able to fend off both the plots of the Spartans and the armed forces of all the Peloponnesians, over whom it was of vital import to Athens, especially at that time, to have the upper hand in war. So that no one could justly condemn those who chose our present polity.[c] For they were not disappointed in their expectations, nor were they at all blind to both the good and the bad features attached to either form of rule, but, on the contrary, saw clearly that while a land-power is fostered by order and sobriety and discipline and other like qualities,[d] a sea-power is not augmented by these but by the crafts which have to

[c] This making a virtue of necessity is inconsistent with Isocrates' uncompromising attitude toward the excesses of the later democracy in the *Areopagiticus*, the *Peace*, and even in this discourse. See 145 ff.

[d] *Cf. Peace* 102.

ἐλαύνειν αὐτὰς δυναμένων καὶ τῶν τὰ σφέτερα μὲν αὑτῶν ἀπολωλεκότων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πορίζεσθαι τὸν βίον εἰθισμένων· ὧν εἰσπεσόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἄδηλος ἦν ὅ τε κόσμος ὁ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς πρότερον ὑπαρχούσης λυθησόμενος, ἥ τε τῶν συμμάχων εὔνοια ταχέως ληψομένη μεταβολήν, ὅταν οἷς πρότερον χώρας ἐδίδοσαν καὶ πόλεις, τούτους ἀναγκάζωσι συντάξεις καὶ φόρους ὑποτελεῖν, ἵν' ἔχωσι μισθὸν διδόναι τοῖς τοιούτοις
117 οἵους ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν ἀγνοοῦντες τῶν προειρημένων ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει τῇ τηλικαύτῃ μὲν τὸ μέγεθος, τοιαύτην δ' ἐχούσῃ δόξαν, λυσιτελεῖν καὶ πρέπειν ἁπάσας ὑπομεῖναι
[257] τὰς δυσχερείας μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχήν· δυοῖν γὰρ πραγμάτοιν προτεινομένοιν μὴ σπουδαίοιν, κρείττω τὴν αἵρεσιν εἶναι τοῦ δεινὰ ποιεῖν ἑτέρους ἢ πάσχειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ μὴ δικαίως τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ φεύγοντας τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ἀδίκως Λακεδαιμονίοις δου-
118 λεύειν. ἅπερ ἅπαντες μὲν ἂν οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἕλοιντο καὶ βουληθεῖεν, ὀλίγοι δ' ἄν τινες τῶν προσποιουμένων εἶναι σοφῶν ἐρωτηθέντες οὐκ ἂν φήσαιεν. αἱ μὲν οὖν αἰτίαι δι' ἃς μετέλαβον τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ὑπό τινων ψεγομένην ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπὸ

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[a] The homeless refugees who enlisted in the naval service of Athens for pay and the chance to pillage. See especially *Peace* 44 ff. and *Epist.* ix. 9.

[b] *Cf.* Eur. *Hecuba* 607: ναυτική τ' ἀναρχία.

[c] This cynicism accords ill with his plea for justice as a rule of conduct for states in *Peace* 28 ff., where he approaches the Platonic ideal that it is better to suffer than to do wrong (Plato, *Gorgias* 469 c ff.). Here Isocrates inclines, for once, to the "practical" view of Demosthenes: that if all other

do with the building of ships and by men who are able to row them—men who have lost their own possessions and are accustomed to derive their livelihood from the possessions of others.[a] Our fathers did not fail to foresee that with the introduction of these elements into the state the order and discipline of the former polity would be relaxed[b] and that the good will of our allies would soon undergo a change when the Athenians should compel the Hellenes, to whom they had previously given lands and cities, to pay contributions and tribute to Athens in order that she might have the means to pay the kind of men whom I mentioned a moment ago. Nevertheless, although they were not blind to any of the things which I have mentioned, they considered that it was both advantageous and becoming to a state so great in size and reputation to bear with all difficulties rather than with the rule of the Lacedaemonians. For having the choice between two policies, neither of them ideal, they considered it better to choose to do injury to others rather than to suffer injury themselves and to rule without justice over others rather than, by seeking to escape that reproach, to be subject unjustly to the Lacedaemonians—a course which all sensible men would prefer and desire for themselves,[c] albeit a certain few of those who claim to be wise men, were the question put to them, would not accept this view. These, then, are the reasons—I have perhaps gone into them at undue length—but, in any case, these are the reasons why

states made justice the basis of their foreign policy it would be shameful for Athens not to observe it; but in a world where all other states are seeking the power to do injustice, for Athens alone to be governed by that ideal to her disadvantage would be "not justice but cowardice." See Demosth. *For the Rhodians* 28, 29.

πάντων ἐπαινουμένης, διὰ μακροτέρων μὲν αὐτὰς διῆλθον, αὗται δ᾽ οὖν ἦσαν.

119 Ἤδη δὲ περὶ ἧς τε ὑπεθέμην καὶ τῶν προγόνων ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων ἐπιλαβόμενος ὅτ᾽ οὐκ ἦν οὔτ᾽ ὀλιγαρχίας οὔτε δημοκρατίας ὄνομά πω λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ μοναρχίαι καὶ τὰ γένη τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλλη-
120 νίδας ἁπάσας διῴκουν. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ προειλόμην πορρωτέρωθεν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡγούμενος προσήκειν τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ἀρετῆς εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γενεᾶς διαφέροντας εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, ἔπειτ᾽ αἰσχυνόμενος εἰ περὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν μὲν οὐδὲν δέ μοι προσηκόντων πλείω διαλεχθεὶς τῶν μετρίων περὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν τὴν πόλιν κάλλιστα διοικησάντων μηδὲ μικρὰν ποιήσομαι
121 μνείαν, οἳ τοσοῦτον βελτίους ἐγένοντο τῶν τοιαύτας δυναστείας ἐχόντων, ὅσον περ ἄνδρες οἱ φρονιμώτατοι καὶ πραότατοι διενέγκοιεν ἂν θηρίων τῶν ἀγριωτάτων καὶ πλείστης ὠμότητος μεστῶν.

Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εὕροιμεν τῶν ὑπερβαλλόντων ἀνοσιότητι καὶ δεινότητι πεπραγμένον ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ τότε νομιζομέναις καὶ νῦν εἶναι δοκούσαις; οὐ φόνους ἀδελφῶν καὶ πατέρων καὶ ξένων παμ-
122 πληθεῖς γεγενημένους; οὐ σφαγὰς μητέρων καὶ μίξεις καὶ παιδοποιίας ἐξ ὧν ἐτύγχανον αὐτοὶ πεφυκότες; οὐ παίδων βρῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκειο-

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[a] See *Paneg.* 25. [b] See 72 ff.

[c] Compare Montaigne, *Essays*, chap. xlii.: "Plutarch says somewhere that he does not find so great a difference between beast and beast as he does between man and man; which he says in reference to the internal qualities and perfections of the soul. And, in truth, I find so vast a difference

they adopted the polity which is criticized by some in place of the polity which is commended by all.

I shall now proceed to speak about the polity which I took for my subject and about our ancestors, going back to the early times when neither the word oligarchy nor the word democracy was as yet in our speech, but when monarchies governed both the barbaric races and all the Hellenic states. I have chosen to begin with a period rather remote for these reasons: first, because I consider that those who lay claim to superior excellence ought from the very beginning of their race to be distinguished above all others,[a] and, second, because I should be ashamed if, having spoken at undue length of men who, though noble,[b] are nowise akin to me, I should not even briefly mention those of our ancestors who most excellently governed our city, since they were as much superior to those who rule with absolute power as the wisest and gentlest of mankind may be said to excel the wildest and the most savage of the beasts.[c]

For what among crimes that are unparalleled in their wickedness and cruelty shall we not find to have been perpetrated in the other states and especially in those which at the time of which I am speaking were considered the greatest and even now are so reputed? Has there not abounded in them murder of brothers and fathers and guest-friends; matricide and incest and begetting of children by sons with their own mothers; feasting of a father on the flesh

between Epaminondas, according to my judgement of him, and some that I know, who are yet men of good sense, that I would willingly enhance upon Plutarch, and say that there is more difference between such and such a man than there is between such a man and such a beast."

τάτων ἐπιβεβουλευμένην; οὐκ ἐκβολὰς ὧν ἐγέν-
[258] νησαν, καὶ καταποντισμοὺς καὶ τυφλώσεις καὶ τοσαύτας τὸ πλῆθος κακοποιίας, ὥστε μηδένα πώποτε ἀπορῆσαι τῶν εἰθισμένων καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰσφέρειν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τὰς τότε γεγενημένας συμφοράς;

123 Ταῦτα δὲ διῆλθον οὐκ ἐκείνους λοιδορῆσαι βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεῖξαι παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον γεγενημένον· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἂν σημεῖον ἦν οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ὅμοιοι τὰς φύσεις ἦσαν τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις γεγενημένοις· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας καθ' ὑπερβολήν τινας ἐπαινεῖν μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιδεικνύναι, μὴ πονηροὺς ὄντας αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἁπάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ τῶν τότε καὶ τῶν νῦν διήνεγκαν. ἅπερ ἔχοι τις ἂν καὶ περὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων
124 εἰπεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ ὁσίως καὶ καλῶς καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διῴκησαν, ὥσπερ προσῆκον ἦν τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν μὲν γεγονότας, πρώτους δὲ καὶ πόλιν οἰκήσαντας καὶ νόμοις χρησαμένους, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἠσκηκότας εὐσέβειαν μὲν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δικαιοσύνην δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὄντας δὲ μήτε μιγάδας μήτ' ἐπήλυδας, ἀλλὰ μόνους αὐτόχθονας τῶν Ἑλλή-

[a] Most of these horrors are taken from the Argive legend of the house of Pelops and the Theban story of the house of Labdacus: from the former, Thyestes feasting unwittingly upon the flesh of his own sons, served up to him by his brother, Atreus; from the latter, Oedipus exposed as a child by his parents to perish in the mountains, the slaying of Laius, his father, by Oedipus, the marriage of Oedipus to his own mother, Jocasta, the death at each other's hands of the sons, Eteocles and Polyneices, who were born of that incestuous union, and the blinding of Oedipus.

of his own sons, plotted by those nearest of kin; exposure of infants by parents, and drownings and blindings [a] and other iniquities so many in number that no lack of material has ever been felt by those who are wont each year to present in the theatre [b] the miseries which transpired in those days?

I have recounted these atrocities with the desire, not of maligning these states, but of showing not only that nothing of the sort happened among the Athenians—for this would be a proof, not of their superior excellence, but merely that they were not of the same character as those who have proved themselves the most godless of men. However, those who undertake to praise any people in superlative terms must show, not only that they were not depraved, but that they excelled in all the virtues both those who lived at that time and those who are now living—which is the very claim that one may make for our ancestors. For they administered both the affairs of the state and their own affairs as righteously and honourably as was to be expected of men who were descended from the gods,[c] who were the first to found a city and to make use of laws,[d] who at all times had practised reverence in relation to the gods and justice in relation to mankind, who were neither of mixed origin nor invaders of a foreign territory but were, on the contrary, alone among the Hellenes, sprung from the soil itself,[e]

[b] These stories furnished largely the themes of the tragic poets.

[c] According to one story it was from the seeds sown by Hephaestus on the soil of Attica that the Athenians were sprung. See Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 13.

[d] See *Paneg.* 39, 40, and notes.

[e] See *Paneg.* 24 and note.

125 νων, καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας τὴν χώραν τροφὸν ἐξ ἧς
περ ἔφυσαν, καὶ στέργοντας αὐτὴν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ
οἱ βέλτιστοι τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τὰς μητέρας τὰς
αὑτῶν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὕτω θεοφιλεῖς ὄντας,
ὥσθ' ὃ δοκεῖ χαλεπώτατον εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτα-
τον, εὑρεῖν τινας τῶν οἴκων τῶν τυραννικῶν
καὶ βασιλικῶν ἐπὶ τέτταρας ἢ πέντε γενεὰς
126 διαμείναντας, καὶ τοῦτο συμβῆναι μόνοις ἐκείνοις.
Ἐριχθόνιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ φὺς ἐξ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Γῆς
παρὰ Κέκροπος ἄπαιδος ὄντος ἀρρένων παίδων
τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν· ἐντεῦθεν
δ' ἀρξάμενοι πάντες οἱ γενόμενοι μετ' ἐκεῖνον,
ὄντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι, τὰς κτήσεις τὰς αὑτῶν καὶ τὰς
δυναστείας τοῖς αὑτῶν παισὶ παρέδοσαν μέχρι
Θησέως.

Περὶ οὗ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἂν ἐποιησάμην μὴ δι-
ειλέχθαι πρότερον περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν πε-
πραγμένων αὐτῷ· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον ἥρμοσεν ἐν
τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς πόλεως διελθεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν.
127 ἀλλὰ γὰρ χαλεπὸν ἦν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀδύνατον, τὰ
κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐπελθόντα τὸν χρόνον εἰς τοῦτον
[259] ἀποθέσθαι τὸν καιρόν, ὃν οὐ προῄδειν ἐσόμενον.
ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν ἐάσομεν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
αὐτοῖς κατεχρησάμην, μιᾶς δὲ μόνον μνησθήσομαι
πράξεως, ᾗ συμβέβηκε μήτ' εἰρῆσθαι πρότερον
μήτε πεπρᾶχθαι μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἄλλου πλὴν ὑπὸ
Θησέως, σημεῖον δ' εἶναι μέγιστον τῆς ἀρετῆς
128 τῆς ἐκείνου καὶ φρονήσεως. ἔχων γὰρ βασιλείαν
ἀσφαλεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην, ἐν ᾗ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ
διαπεπραγμένος ἦν καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ περὶ

possessing in this land the nurse of their very existence and cherishing it as fondly as the best of children cherish their fathers and mothers, and who, furthermore, were so beloved of the gods that—what is of all things in the world the most difficult and rare, namely, to find examples of royal houses or houses of absolute rulers remaining in power through four or five generations—this too transpired among our ancestors alone. For Erichthonius, the son of Hephaestus and Earth, took over from Cecrops, who was without male descent, his house and kingdom; and beginning with this time all those who came after him—not a few in number—handed down their possessions and their powers to their sons until the reign of Theseus.

I would give much not to have spoken about the virtue and the achievements of Theseus on a former occasion,[a] for it would have been more appropriate to discuss this topic in my discourse about our city. But it was difficult, or rather impossible, to postpone the things which at that time occurred to me to say to the present occasion, which I could not foresee would come to me. Therefore I shall pass over this topic, since I have already exhausted it for my present purpose, and shall mention only a single course of action which, as it happens, has neither been discussed by anyone before nor been achieved by any other man but Theseus, and which is a signal proof of his virtue and wisdom. For although he ruled over the securest and greatest of kingdoms[b] and in the exercise of this power had accomplished many excellent things both in war and in the ad-

[a] See *Helen* 18 ff.
[b] Repeated from *Helen* 18.

διοίκησιν τῆς πόλεως, ἅπαντα ταῦθ' ὑπερεῖδεν, καὶ μᾶλλον εἵλετο τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον μνημονευθησομένην ἢ τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι γιγνομένην.
129 καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν οὐκ ἐπειδὴ πρεσβύτερος γενόμενος ἀπολελαυκὼς ἦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ' ἀκμάζων, ὡς λέγεται, τὴν μὲν πόλιν διοικεῖν τῷ πλήθει παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων διετέλει κινδυνεύων.

130 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Θησέως ἀρετῆς νῦν μὲν ὡς οἷόντ' ἦν ἀνεμνήσαμεν, πρότερον δ' ἁπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις οὐκ ἀμελῶς διήλθομεν· περὶ δὲ τῶν παραλαβόντων τὴν τῆς πόλεως διοίκησιν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος παρέδωκεν, οὐκ ἔχω τίνας ἐπαίνους εἰπὼν ἀξίους ἂν εἴην εἰρηκὼς τῆς ἐκείνων διανοίας. οἵτινες ἄπειροι πολιτειῶν ὄντες, οὐ διήμαρτον αἱρούμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ πάντων ἂν ὁμολογηθείσης οὐ μόνον εἶναι κοινοτάτης καὶ δικαιοτάτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφορωτάτης ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἡδίστης.
131 κατεστήσαντο γὰρ δημοκρατίαν οὐ τὴν εἰκῇ πολιτευομένην, καὶ νομίζουσαν τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἐξουσίαν ὅ τι βούλεταί τις ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῖς τοιούτοις μὲν ἐπιτιμῶσαν, ἀριστοκρατίᾳ δὲ χρωμένην· ἣν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ χρησιμωτάτην οὖσαν ὥσπερ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν

[a] For Theseus as the author of the spirit of the Athenian polity see *Helen* 35-37.

ministration of the state, he disdained all this and chose the glory which, in consequence of his labours and his struggles, would be remembered for all time in preference to the ease and felicity which, because of his royal power, were at his command for the term of his life. And he did this, not after he had grown old and had taken his pleasure in the good things at hand, but in the prime of his manhood, it is said, he gave over the state to the people to govern,[a] while he himself risked his life without ceasing for the benefit of Athens and of the rest of the Hellenes.

I have now touched upon the nobility of Theseus so far as I could on the present occasion, having formerly with some pains detailed his whole career. But as to those who took over the administration of the state, which he gave over to them, I am at a loss to know by what terms of praise I can adequately extol the genius of those men who, having no experience of governments, did not err in their choice of that polity which all the world would acknowledge to be not only the most impartial and the most just, but also the most profitable to all and the most agreeable to those who lived under it. For they established government by the people, not the kind which operates at haphazard, mistaking licence for liberty and freedom to do what one likes for happiness,[b] but the kind which frowns upon such excesses and makes use of the rule of the best. Now the majority count the rule of the best,[c] which is the most advantageous of governments (just as they do government based upon a property qualification[d]), among the

[b] See *Areop.* 20 and note.
[c] Aristocracy. [d] Timocracy.

τιμημάτων ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀριθμοῦσιν, οὐ δι' ἀμαθίαν ἀγνοοῦντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν πώποτ'
132 *αὐτοῖς μελῆσαι τῶν δεόντων. ἐγὼ δὲ φημὶ τὰς μὲν ἰδέας τῶν πολιτειῶν τρεῖς εἶναι μόνας, ὀλιγαρχίαν,*
[260] *δημοκρατίαν, μοναρχίαν, τῶν δ' ἐν ταύταις οἰκούντων ὅσοι μὲν εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καθιστάναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστατήσειν, τούτους μὲν ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς πολιτείαις καλῶς οἰκήσειν καὶ πρὸς*
133 *σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους· τοὺς δὲ τοῖς θρασυτάτοις καὶ πονηροτάτοις ἐπὶ ταῦτα χρωμένους, καὶ τῶν μὲν τῇ πόλει συμφερόντων μηδὲν φροντίζουσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς αὑτῶν πλεονεξίας ἑτοίμοις οὖσιν ὁτιοῦν πάσχειν, τὰς δὲ τούτων πόλεις ὁμοίως οἰκήσεσθαι ταῖς τῶν προεστώτων πονηρίαις· τοὺς δὲ μήθ' οὕτω μήθ' ὡς πρότερον εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν θαρρῶσι, τούτους μάλιστα τιμῶντας, τοὺς πρὸς χάριν λέγοντας, ὅταν δὲ δείσωσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ φρονιμωτάτους καταφεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ἐναλλὰξ τοτὲ μὲν χεῖρον τοτὲ δὲ βέλτιον πράξειν.*

134 *Αἱ μὲν οὖν φύσεις καὶ δυνάμεις τῶν πολιτειῶν οὕτως ἔχουσιν, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἑτέροις πολὺ πλείους λόγους παρέξειν τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων, ἐμοὶ*

[a] Plato, *Republic* 544 c ff., distinguishes these three types: monarchy, which may be either a constitutional or an absolute rule; government by the few, which may be either an aristocracy or an oligarchy; and democracy. Aristotle, *Politics* iii. 6 ff., recognizes three types: monarchy, aristocracy, and a republic, and, corresponding to them (aberrations from them), three debased forms, tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy. Isocrates' point is that any one of these

distinct kinds of polity, being mistaken, not because of ignorance, but because they have never taken any interest in the things which should claim their attention. But I, for my part, hold that there are three types of polity and three only: oligarchy, democracy, and monarchy,[a] and that of the people who live under these all who are wont to place in charge of their offices and of their affairs in general those of their fellow-citizens who are most competent and who will most ably and justly direct the affairs of state—all these, I hold, will govern well, under any type of polity, both in their domestic relations and in their relations to the rest of the world. On the other hand, when men employ in these positions of leadership those of their citizens who are the most brazen and the most depraved and who take no thought for the things which are advantageous to the commonwealth but are ready to go to any extreme to further their personal advantage, the character of their government will correspond to the depravity of the men at the head of their affairs. Again, all who are not of the latter class nor of that which I mentioned previously, but who, when they feel secure, honour before others those who speak for the gratification of the public and, when they are afraid, seek refuge in the best and wisest of their citizens—such men will fare now worse now better as the case may be.

This, then, is the truth regarding the natures and powers of the several polities—a theme which will, I think, furnish to others material for much more extended discussion, although I must not speak

forms may be an aristocracy; it is the spirit of the constitution which matters (138); that government is best (*i.e.* an aristocracy) where the best men rule.

δ᾽ οὐκέτι περὶ ἁπασῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι διαλεκτέον, ἀλλὰ περὶ μόνης τῆς τῶν προγόνων· ταύτην γὰρ ὑπεσχόμην ἐπιδείξειν σπουδαιοτέραν καὶ πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν οὖσαν τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ καθεστηκυίας.
135 ἔσται δ᾽ ὁ λόγος τοῖς μὲν ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούσασι πολιτείαν χρηστὴν ἐμοῦ διεξιόντος οὔτ᾽ ὀχληρὸς οὔτ᾽ ἄκαιρος, ἀλλὰ σύμμετρος καὶ προσήκων τοῖς πρότερον εἰρημένοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ χαίρουσι τοῖς μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς εἰρημένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι μάλιστα μὲν λοιδορουμένοις, ἢν δ᾽ ἀπόσχωνται τῆς μανίας ταύτης, ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ἢ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν ὄντων ἢ τοὺς παρανομωτάτους τῶν γεγενημένων, τούτοις δ᾽ αὐτὸν οἶμαι δόξειν
136 πολὺ μακρότερον εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος. ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ἀκροατῶν οὐδὲν πώποτ᾽ ἐμέλησεν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν, ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ἅ τε προεῖπον πρὸ ἅπαντος τοῦ λόγου μνημονευσόν-
[261] των, τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἐπιτιμησόντων, οὐδ᾽ ἢν μυρίων ἐπῶν ᾖ τὸ μῆκος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἶναι νομιούντων τοσοῦτον ἀναγνῶναι μέρος καὶ διελθεῖν ὁπόσον ἂν αὐτοὶ βουληθῶσιν, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τῶν οὐδενὸς ἂν ἥδιον ἀκουόντων ἢ λόγου διεξιόντος ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὰς καὶ πόλεως τρόπον
137 καλῶς οἰκουμένης, ἅπερ εἰ μιμήσασθαί τινες βουληθεῖεν καὶ δυνηθεῖεν, αὐτοί τ᾽ ἂν ἐν μεγάλῃ δόξῃ τὸν βίον διαγάγοιεν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς αὑτῶν εὐδαίμονας ποιήσειαν.

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[a] It appears to have been a common practice for speakers to show off their oratorical powers by extolling such themes. See *Paneg.* close and note ; *Helen* 12.

further on the general subject but must confine myself to the polity of our ancestors. For I undertook to prove that this has been of greater worth and the source of greater benefits than the polity which obtains in Sparta. And what I say on this head will prove, for those who would gladly hear me discuss an excellent polity, neither burdensome nor untimely but of due measure and in keeping with what I have said before; those, however, who take pleasure, not in the things which have been spoken in deep seriousness, but rather in the orators who rail at each other most of all at the public assemblies, or, if the speakers refrain from this madness, in those who deliver encomiums on the most trivial things [a] or on the most lawless men who have ever lived—to these, I think, what I say will seem much longer than it should be. I, however, have never concerned myself in the least with such auditors, any more than do other sensible men, but rather with those who will keep in mind what I said in preface to my whole discourse and at the same time will not frown upon the length of my speech, even though it extend through thousands upon thousands of words, but will realize that it lies in their power to read and peruse only such portion of it as they themselves desire; and most of all am I concerned with those who, in preference to any other, will gladly listen to a discourse which celebrates the virtues of men and the ways of a well-governed state. For if any should have the wish and the power to pattern their lives upon such examples, they might themselves pass their days in the enjoyment of high repute and render their own countries happy and prosperous.

Οἵους μὲν οὖν εὐξαίμην ἂν εἶναι τοὺς ἀκουσομένους τῶν ἐμῶν, εἴρηκα, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τοιούτων γενομένων πολὺ καταδεέστερον εἴπω τῶν πραγμάτων περὶ ὧν μέλλω ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους. ὅμως δ' οὕτως ὅπως ἂν οἷός τ' ὦ πειράσομαι δια-
138 λεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν. τοῦ μὲν οὖν διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον δικαίως ἂν ἐπενέγκοιμεν τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς βασιλεύσασιν αὐτῆς, περὶ ὧν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διελέχθην. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ παιδεύσαντες τὸ πλῆθος ἐν ἀρετῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πολλῇ σωφροσύνῃ, καὶ διδάξαντες ἐξ ὧν διῴκουν, ἅπερ ἐγὼ φανείην ἂν ὕστερον εἰρηκὼς ἢ 'κεῖνοι πράξαντες, ὅτι πᾶσα πολιτεία ψυχὴ πόλεώς ἐστι, τοσαύτην ἔχουσα δύναμιν ὅσην περ ἐν σώματι φρόνησις· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ βουλευομένη περὶ ἁπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ διαφυλάττουσα, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς διαφεύγουσα, καὶ πάντων αἰτία τῶν ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαινόντων.

139 Ἃ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἐπελάθετο διὰ τὴν μεταβολήν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τούτῳ προσεῖχεν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπως λήψεται τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δημοκρατίας μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντας, τὸ δ' ἦθος τοιοῦτον ἔχοντας οἷόν περ οἱ πρότερον ἐπιστατοῦντες αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ λήσουσι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κυρίους ἁπάντων τῶν κοινῶν καταστήσαντες οἷς οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδὲν τῶν ἰδίων
140 ἐπιτρέψειεν, μηδὲ περιόψονται πρὸς τὰ τῆς πόλεως προσιόντας τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως ὄντας πονηρούς, μηδ' ἀνέξονται τὴν φωνὴν τῶν τὰ μὲν σώματα τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐπονειδίστως διατιθεμένων, συμβου-

Now I have expressed myself as to the kind of auditors I would pray that I might have for what I shall say, but I am afraid that were I given such an audience I might fall far below the subject upon which I am to speak. Nevertheless, in such manner as I can I shall attempt to discourse upon it. The fact, then, that our city was governed in those times better than the rest of the world I would justly credit to her kings, of whom I spoke a moment ago. For it was they who trained the multitude in the ways of virtue and justice and great sobriety and who taught through the manner of their rule the very truth which I shall be seen to have expressed in words after they had expressed it in their deeds, namely, that every polity is the soul of the state, having as much power over it as the mind over the body. For it is this which deliberates on all questions, seeking to preserve what is good and to avoid what is disastrous,[a] and is the cause of all the things which transpire in states.

Having learned this truth, the people did not forget it on account of the change in the constitution, but rather gave their minds to this one endeavour before all others: to obtain as their leaders men who were in sympathy with democracy, but were possessed of the same character as those who were formerly at the head of the state; and not unwittingly to place in charge of the whole commonwealth men to whom no one would entrust a single detail of his private interests;[b] and not to permit men to approach positions of public trust who are notoriously depraved; and not even to suffer men to be heard[c] who lend their own persons to base practices but deem them-

[a] Repeated from *Areop.* 14.
[b] *Cf. Peace* 13, 133.
[c] *Cf. Peace* 3 and note.

λεύειν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀξιούντων ὃν τρόπον τὴν [262] πόλιν διοικοῦντες σωφρονοῖεν ἂν καὶ βέλτιον πράττοιεν, μηδὲ τῶν ἃ μὲν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον εἰς αἰσχρὰς ἡδονὰς ἀνηλωκότων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀπορίαις βοηθεῖν ζητούντων, μηδὲ τῶν πρὸς χάριν μὲν ἀεὶ λέγειν γλιχομένων, εἰς πολλὰς δ' ἀηδίας καὶ λύπας τοὺς πειθομένους
141 ἐμβαλλόντων, ἀλλὰ τούς τε τοιούτους ἅπαντας ἀπείργειν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν ἕκαστος οἰήσεται δεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐκείνους, τοὺς τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων κτήματα τῆς πόλεως εἶναι φάσκοντας, τὰ δὲ ταύτης ἴδια κλέπτειν καὶ διαρπάζειν τολμῶντας, καὶ φιλεῖν μὲν τὸν δῆμον προσποιουμένους, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων αὐτὸν μισεῖσθαι ποιοῦντας,
142 καὶ λόγῳ μὲν δεδιότας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔργῳ δὲ λυμαινομένους καὶ συκοφαντοῦντας καὶ διατιθέντας αὐτοὺς οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥστε τῶν πόλεων τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καθισταμένας ἥδιον ἂν καὶ θᾶττον ἐνίας εἰσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἢ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν βοήθειαν. ἀπείποι δ' ἄν τις γράφων, εἰ πάσας τὰς κακοηθείας καὶ πονηρίας ἐξαριθμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειεν.

143 Ἃς ἐκεῖνοι μισήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτάς, ἐποιοῦντο συμβούλους καὶ προστάτας οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ φρονιμωτάτους καὶ κάλλιστα βεβιωκότας, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους στρατηγοὺς ᾑροῦντο καὶ πρέσβεις, εἴ που δεήσειεν, ἔπεμπον, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡγεμονίας τὰς τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς παρεδίδοσαν, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος βουλομένους καὶ δυναμένους τὰ βέλτιστα συμ-

[a] See *Peace* 124 and note.
[b] *Cf. Antid.* 318. [c] *Cf. Peace* 54.

selves worthy to advise others how they should govern the state in order to advance in sobriety and well-being, or who have squandered what they inherited from their fathers on shameful pleasures but seek to repair their own fortunes from the public treasury,[a] or who strive always to speak for the gratification of their audience but plunge those who are persuaded by them into many distresses and hardships; on the contrary, they saw to it that each and everyone should look upon it as his duty to debar all such men from giving counsel to the public, and not only such men, but those also who assert that the possessions of the rest of the world belong to the state but do not scruple to plunder and rob the state of its legitimate property, who pretend to love the people but cause them to be hated by all the rest of mankind, and who in words express anxiety for the welfare of the Hellenes but in fact outrage and blackmail and make them so bitter against us[b] that some of our states when pressed by war would sooner and more gladly open their gates to the besiegers than to a relief force from Athens. But one would grow weary of writing were he to attempt to go through the whole catalogue of iniquities and depravities.

Abhorring these iniquities and the men who practise them, our forefathers set up as counsellors and leaders of the state, not any and everyone, but those who were the wisest and the best and who had lived the noblest lives among them, and they chose these same men as their generals in the field[c] and sent them forth as ambassadors, wherever any need arose, and they gave over to them the entire guidance of the state, believing that those who desired and were able to give the best counsel from the platform

βουλεύειν, τούτους καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς γενομένους ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς τόποις καὶ περὶ ἁπάσας τὰς πράξεις τὴν
144 αὐτὴν γνώμην ἕξειν· ἅπερ αὐτοῖς συνέβαινεν. διὰ γὰρ τὸ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἑώρων τούς τε νόμους ἀναγεγραμμένους, οὐχ ὁμοίους τοῖς νῦν κειμένοις, οὐδὲ τοσαύτης ταραχῆς καὶ τοσούτων ἐναντιώσεων μεστοὺς ὥστε μηδέν' ἂν δυνηθῆναι συνιδεῖν μήτε τοὺς χρησίμους μήτε τοὺς ἀχρήστους αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγους, ἱκανοὺς δὲ τοῖς χρῆσθαι μέλλουσι καὶ ῥᾳδίους συνιδεῖν, ἔπειτα δικαίους καὶ συμφέροντας καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐσπουδασμένους τοὺς
[263] περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἢ τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, οἵους περ εἶναι χρὴ παρὰ τοῖς καλῶς πολιτευομένοις.

145 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καθίστασαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοὺς προκριθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, οὐ περιμαχήτους αὐτὰς ποιήσαντες οὐδ' ἐπιθυμίας ἀξίας, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον λειτουργίαις ὁμοίας ταῖς ἐνοχλούσαις μὲν οἷς ἂν προσταχθῶσι, τιμὴν δέ τινα περιτιθείσαις αὐτοῖς· ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς ἄρχειν αἱρεθέντας τῶν τε κτημάτων τῶν ἰδίων ἀμελεῖν, καὶ τῶν λημμάτων τῶν εἰθισμένων δίδοσθαι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀπέχεσθαι μηδὲν ἧττον ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν (ἃ τίς ἂν ἐν τοῖς νῦν καθ-
146 εστῶσιν ὑπομείνειεν;), καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκριβεῖς περὶ

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[a] See *Areop.* 39.

[b] Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens* 8) states that Solon enacted that the election to the offices should be by lot from candidates *selected* by each of the tribes. For example, each tribe selected ten candidates for the nine archonships, and among these the lot was cast. *Cf. Areop.* 22.

would, when by themselves, no matter in what regions of the world or on what enterprise engaged, be of the same way of thinking. And in this they were justified by events. For because they followed this principle they saw their code of laws completely written down in a few days—laws, not like those which are established to-day, nor full of so much confusion and of so many contradictions that no one can distinguish between the useful and the useless, but, in the first place, few in number, though adequate for those who were to use them and easy to comprehend; and, in the next place, just and profitable and consonant with each other; those laws, moreover, which had to do with their common ways of life having been thought out with greater pains than those which had to do with private contracts, as indeed they should be in well regulated states.[a]

At the same time they appointed to the magistracies those who had been selected beforehand by the members of their respective tribes[b] and townships,[c] having made of the offices, not prizes to fight for or to tempt ambition,[d] but responsibilities much more comparable to the liturgies,[e] which are burdensome to those to whom they are assigned, although conferring upon them a kind of distinction. For the men who had been elected to office were required to neglect their own possessions and at the same time to abstain no less from the gratuities which are wont to be given to the offices than from the treasures of the gods. (Who under the present dispensation would submit to such restrictions?) Furthermore, those who proved conscientious in the performance of these

[c] The numerous "demes" into which Attica was divided.
[d] See *Areop.* 24-25 and notes.
[e] See Introduction to the *Antidosis*.

ταύτας γιγνομένους μετρίως ἐπαινεθέντας ἐφ'
ἑτέραν ἐπιμέλειαν τάττεσθαι τοιαύτην, τοὺς δὲ
καὶ μικρὸν παραβάντας ταῖς ἐσχάταις αἰσχύναις
καὶ μεγίσταις ζημίαις περιπίπτειν· ὥστε μηδένα
τῶν πολιτῶν ὥσπερ νῦν διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς,
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τότε ταύτας φεύγειν ἢ νῦν διώκειν,
147 καὶ πάντας νομίζειν μηδέποτ' ἂν γενέσθαι δημο-
κρατίαν ἀληθεστέραν μηδὲ βεβαιοτέραν μηδὲ μᾶλλον
τῷ πλήθει συμφέρουσαν τῆς τῶν μὲν τοιούτων
πραγματειῶν ἀτέλειαν τῷ δήμῳ διδούσης, τοῦ
δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καταστῆσαι καὶ λαβεῖν δίκην παρὰ
τῶν ἐξαμαρτόντων κύριον ποιούσης, ἅπερ ὑπάρχει
καὶ τῶν τυράννων τοῖς εὐδαιμονεστάτοις.

148 Σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον ὅτι ταῦτ' ἠγάπων μᾶλλον
ἢ 'γὼ λέγω· φαίνεται γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις
πολιτείαις ταῖς οὐκ ἀρεσκούσαις μαχόμενος καὶ
καταλύων καὶ τοὺς προεστῶτας αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνων,
ταύτῃ δὲ χρώμενος οὐκ ἐλάττω χιλίων ἐτῶν, ἀλλ'
ἐμμείνας ἀφ' οὗ περ ἔλαβε μέχρι τῆς Σόλωνος
μὲν ἡλικίας Πεισιστράτου δὲ δυναστείας, ὃς δημ-
αγωγὸς γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν λυμηνά-
μενος καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν ὡς ὀλιγ-
αρχικοὺς ὄντας ἐκβαλών, τελευτῶν τόν τε δῆμον
κατέλυσε καὶ τύραννον αὑτὸν κατέστησεν.

149 Τάχ' οὖν ἄν τινες ἄτοπον εἶναί με φήσειαν, οὐ-
δὲν γὰρ κωλύει διαλαβεῖν τὸν λόγον, ὅτι τολμῶ
[264] λέγειν ὡς ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς περὶ πραγμάτων οἷς οὐ

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[a] See *Areop.* 27 and note.

[b] A very round number indeed. Tradition dated Theseus, whom Isocrates seems here to regard as the last of the kings, about 600 years before this time.

duties, were moderately praised and then assigned to another similar responsibility, whereas those who were guilty of the slightest dereliction were involved in the deepest disgrace and the severest punishment. So that no one of the citizens felt about the offices as they now do, but they then sought to escape from them much more than they now seek to obtain them, and all men were agreed that no truer democracy could be found, nor one more stable or more beneficial to the multitude, than that which gave to the people at the same time exemption from such cares and sovereign power to fill the offices and bring to justice those who offended in them[a]—exactly the position which is enjoyed also by the most fortunate among despots.

And the greatest proof that they were even better satisfied with this regime than I say is this: We see the people at war with other polities which fail to please them, overturning them and slaying those at their head, but continuing to enjoy this polity for not less than a thousand years,[b] remaining loyal to it from the time when they received it down to the age of Solon and the tyranny of Pisistratus, who, after he had placed himself at the head of the people and done much harm to the city and driven out the best of her citizens as being partizans of oligarchy, brought an end to the rule of the people and set himself up as their master.[c]

But perhaps some may object—for nothing prevents breaking into my discourse—that it is absurd for me to presume to speak as though I had exact knowledge of events at which I was not present when they trans-

[c] A pleasanter picture of the "tyranny" of Pisistratus is found in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 14 ff.

παρῆν πραττομένοις. ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐδὲν τούτων ἄλογον οἶμαι ποιεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μόνος ἐπίστευον τοῖς τε λεγομένοις περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τοῖς γράμμασι τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν, εἰκότως ἂν ἐπιτιμῴμην· νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες ταὐτὸν ἐμοὶ φανεῖεν ἂν πεπονθότες.

150 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ κατασταίην εἰς ἔλεγχον καὶ λόγον, δυνηθείην ἂν ἐπιδεῖξαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους πλείους ἐπιστήμας ἔχοντας διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἢ τῆς ὄψεως, καὶ μείζους πράξεις καὶ καλλίους εἰδότας ἃς παρ᾽ ἑτέρων ἀκηκόασιν ἢ ᾽κείνας αἷς αὐτοὶ παραγεγενημένοι τυγχάνουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτ᾽ ἀμελεῖν καλῶς ἔχει τῶν τοιούτων ὑπολήψεων, τυχὸν γὰρ μηδενὸς ἀντειπόντος λυμήναιντ᾽ ἂν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔτ᾽ αὖ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντιλέγοντας διατρίβειν ἐν αὐταῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον ὑποδείξαντας μόνον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξ ὧν ληροῦντας ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐπιδείξαιεν, πάλιν ἐπανελθόντας περαίνειν καὶ λέγειν ὅθεν ἀπέλιπον· ὅπερ ἐγὼ ποιήσω.

151 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύνταγμα τῆς τότε πολιτείας, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ὅσον αὐτῇ χρώμενοι διετέλεσαν, ἐξαρκούντως δεδηλώκαμεν· λοιπὸν δ᾽ ἡμῖν τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι γεγενημένας διελθεῖν. ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔσται καταμαθεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν εἶχον ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι βελτίω τῶν ἄλλων καὶ σωφρονεστέραν, καὶ προστάταις καὶ συμβούλοις ἐχρῶντο τοιούτοις οἵοις
152 χρὴ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῦτά μοι πρότερον λεκτέον ἐστί, πρὶν ἂν μικρὰ προείπω περὶ αὐτῶν. ἣν γὰρ ὑπεριδὼν τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις

pired. I, however, do not see anything unreasonable in this. I grant that if I were alone in relying on traditions regarding what happened long ago or upon records which have been handed down to us from those times I should with good reason be open to attack. But in fact many men—and men of discernment, too—will be seen to be in the same case with me. But apart from this, were I put to the test and the proof, I could show that all men are possessed of more truth gained through hearing than through seeing and that they have knowledge of greater and nobler deeds which they have heard from others than those which they have witnessed themselves. Nevertheless it is wise for a speaker neither to ignore such false assumptions—for they might perhaps confuse the truth were no one to gainsay them—nor again to spend too much time refuting them, but only enough to indicate to the rest of the audience the arguments by which they might prove that the critics speak beside the mark, and then to go back and proceed with the speech from the point where he left off. And this is what I shall do.

I have now sufficiently discussed the form of the polity as it was in those days and the length of time during which our people continued to enjoy it. But it remains for me to recount the actions which have resulted from the excellence of their government. For from these it will be possible to see still more clearly that our ancestors not only had a better and sounder polity than the rest of the world but also employed the kind of leaders and advisers which men of intelligence ought to select. Yet I must not go on speaking even on this point, without first prefacing it with a word of explanation. For if, disdaining to take

τὰς τῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο δυναμένων ἐφεξῆς διηγῶμαι περί τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῶν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἷς οἱ πρόγονοι χρώμενοι τῶν τε βαρβάρων περιεγένοντο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκίμησαν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ φήσουσί τινές με διεξιέναι τοὺς νόμους οὓς Λυκοῦργος μὲν ἔθηκε, Σπαρτιᾶται δ' αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι τυγχάνουσιν.

153 Ἐγὼ δ' ὁμολογῶ μὲν ἐρεῖν πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ καθεστώτων, οὐχ ὡς Λυκούργου τι τούτων εὑρόν-
[265] τος ἢ διανοηθέντος, ἀλλ' ὡς μιμησαμένου τὴν διοίκησιν ὡς δυνατὸν ἄριστα τὴν τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων, καὶ τήν τε δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαντος παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ μεμιγμένην, ἥπερ ἦν παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐ κληρωτὰς
154 ἀλλ' αἱρετὰς ποιήσαντος, καὶ τὴν τῶν γερόντων αἵρεσιν τῶν ἐπιστατούντων ἅπασι τοῖς πράγμασι μετὰ τοσαύτης σπουδῆς ποιεῖσθαι νομοθετήσαντος, μεθ' ὅσης πέρ φασι καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους περὶ τῶν εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἀναβήσεσθαι μελλόντων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς περιθέντος τὴν αὐτήν, ἥνπερ ᾔδει καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔχουσαν τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν.

155 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τἀκεῖ καθέστηκεν ὥσπερ εἶχε τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, παρὰ πολλῶν ἔσται πυθέσθαι τοῖς εἰδέναι βουλομένοις· ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὴν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐ πρότερον ἤσκησαν οὐδ' ἄμεινον ἐχρήσαντο Σπαρτιᾶται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ τῶν πολέμων τῶν ὁμολογουμένων γενέσθαι κατ' ἐκεῖνον

[a] See *Paneg.* 39 and note.

notice of the criticisms of people who are able to do nothing but find fault, I were to review one after the other not only the other achievements of our ancestors but also the ways and practices in warfare by which they prevailed over the barbarians and attained to glory among the Hellenes, inevitably some will say that I am really speaking of the ordinances which Lycurgus laid down and the Spartans follow.

I acknowledge that I am going to speak at length of the institutions of Sparta, not taking the view, however, that Lycurgus invented or conceived any of them, but that he imitated as well as he could the government of our ancestors,[a] establishing among the Spartans a democracy tempered with aristocracy —even such as existed in Athens—, enacting that the offices be filled, not by lot, but by election, ordaining that the election of the Elders, who were to supervise all public affairs, should be conducted with the very same care as, they say, our ancestors also exercised with regard to those who were to have seats in the Areopagus, and, furthermore, conferring upon the Elders[b] the very same power which he knew that the Council of the Areopagus also had in Athens.

Now that the institutions of Sparta were established after the manner of our own as they were in ancient times may be learned from many sources by those who desire to know the truth. But that skill in warfare is something which the Spartans did not practise earlier than our ancestors or employ to better advantage than they I think I can show so clearly from the struggles and the wars which are

[b] For the Spartan *Gerousia*, Council of Elders, see Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* p. 47.

τὸν χρόνον οὕτως οἶμαι σαφῶς ἐπιδείξειν, ὥστε
μήτε τοὺς ἀνοήτως λακωνίζοντας ἀντειπεῖν δυνή-
σεσθαι τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι, μήτε τοὺς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἅμα τε
θαυμάζοντας καὶ βασκαίνοντας καὶ μιμεῖσθαι γλι-
χομένους.

156 Ποιήσομαι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λεχθησομένων
ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ἴσως τισὶν ἀηδῆ, ῥηθῆναι δ᾽ οὐκ
ἀσύμφορον. εἰ γάρ τις φαίη τὼ πόλεε τούτω
πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίας γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι
καὶ μεγίστων κακῶν μετὰ τὴν Ξέρξου στρατείαν,
οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἀληθῆ δόξειεν ἂν λέγειν τοῖς
157 εἰδόσι τι περὶ τῶν τότε γεγενημένων. ἠγωνίσαντό
τε γὰρ ὡς δυνατὸν ἄριστα πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου
δύναμιν, ταῦτά τε πράξασαι, προσῆκον αὐταῖς
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐχομένων βουλεύσασθαι καλῶς, εἰς
τοῦτ᾽ ἦλθον οὐκ ἀνοίας ἀλλὰ μανίας, ὥστε πρὸς
μὲν τὸν ἐπιστρατεύσαντα καὶ βουληθέντα τὼ μὲν
πόλεε τούτω παντάπασιν ἀνελεῖν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους
158 Ἕλληνας καταδουλώσασθαι, πρὸς μὲν τὸν τοιοῦτον,
κρατήσασαι ῥᾳδίως ἂν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰρήνην εἰς ἅπαντα συνεγράψαντο
τὸν χρόνον ὥσπερ πρὸς εὐεργέτην γεγενημένον,
[266] φθονήσασαι δὲ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ταῖς αὑτῶν, εἰς
πόλεμον καταστᾶσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ φιλο-
νεικίαν, οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο σφᾶς τε αὐτὰς
ἀπολλύουσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, πρὶν
κύριον ἐποίησαν τὸν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν τήν τε πόλιν
τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους καταστῆσαι
κινδύνους διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων,
καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἐκείνων διὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέ-

[a] The Peace of Antalcidas.

acknowledged to have taken place in those days that none will be able to contradict what I say—neither those who are blind worshippers of Sparta nor those who at once admire and envy and strive to imitate the ways of Athens.

I am going to begin what I shall say on this topic with a statement which will perhaps be unpleasant for some to hear, although it will not be without profit to have it said. For if anyone were to assert that Athens and Sparta had been the causes both of the greatest benefits and, after the expedition of Xerxes, of the greatest injuries to the Hellenes, without doubt he would be thought by those who know anything about the history of those times to speak the truth. For they contended with the utmost possible bravery against the power of that King, but, having done this, although they ought then to have adopted sound measures also for the tasks which followed upon that achievement, they fell into such a degree, not of folly, but of madness, that they made peace with the man who had led an army against them and who had purposed to annihilate both these cities utterly and to enslave the rest of the Hellenes—with such a man, I repeat, although they could easily have conquered him on both land and sea, they drew up a peace [a] for all time, as though he had been their benefactor, whereas, having grown jealous of each other's merits and fallen into mutual warfare and rivalry, they did not cease attempting to destroy each other and the rest of the Hellenes until they had placed their common enemy in a position to reduce Athens, through the power of the Lacedaemonians, and again Sparta, through the power of Athens, to a state of the utmost peril. And

159 ρας. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς τοῦ βαρβάρου φρονήσεως, οὔτ' ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἤλγησαν ἀξίως ὧν ἔπαθον οὐδ' ὡς προσῆκεν αὐτούς, οὔτε νῦν αἱ μέγισται τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων αἰσχύνονται διακολακευόμεναι πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν Ἀργείων καὶ Θηβαίων Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ συγκατεπολέμησεν, ἵν' ὡς μεγίστην ἔχων δύναμιν ἐπιβουλεύῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιᾶται, συμμαχίας ἡμῖν ὑπαρχούσης, ἀλλοτριώτερον ἔχομεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ πρὸς οὓς ἑκάτεροι πολεμοῦντες τυγχάνομεν.
160 σημεῖον δ' οὐ μικρόν· κοινῇ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ περὶ ἑνὸς πράγματος βουλευόμεθα, χωρὶς δ' ἑκάτεροι πρέσβεις πέμπομεν ὡς ἐκεῖνον, ἐλπίζοντες, ὁποτέροις ἂν οἰκειότερον διατεθῇ, κυρίους τούτους γενήσεσθαι τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι πλεονεξίας, κακῶς εἰδότες ὡς τοὺς μὲν θεραπεύοντας αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν εἴθισται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους καὶ καταφρονοῦντας τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου διαλύεσθαι πειρᾶται τὰς διαφοράς.

161 Ταῦτα δὲ διῆλθον οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι λέγειν τινὲς τολμήσουσιν ὡς ἔξω τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ἐχρησάμην. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδέποτ' ἂν οἶμαι τοῖς προειρημένοις οἰκειοτέρους λόγους ῥηθῆναι τούτων, οὐδ' ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειε τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν φρονιμωτέρους ὄντας περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν τήν τε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ξέρξην διοικησάντων.
162 αὗται μὲν γὰρ ἂν φανεῖεν ἐν ἐκείνοις τε τοῖς χρόνοις

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[a] See *Paneg.* 161, note.

[b] See General Introd. p. x, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

[c] *Cf. Paneg.* 154-155.

although they were so far outstripped in shrewdness by the barbarian, they then experienced no such resentment as the things which they suffered should have provoked nor such as it behoved them to feel; nor at the present time are the greatest of the states of Hellas ashamed to vie with each other in fawning upon the wealth of the King; nay, Argos and Thebes joined forces with him in the conquest of Egypt [a] in order that he might be possessed of the greatest possible power to plot against the Hellenes, while we and the Spartans, although allied together, feel more hostile to each other than to those with whom we are each openly at war. And of this we have a not insignificant proof. For in common we deliberate about nothing whatsoever, but independently we each send ambassadors to the King, expecting that the one of these two states to which he inclines in friendship will be invested with the place of advantage among the Hellenes,[b] little realizing that those who court his favour he is wont to treat insolently while with those who oppose themselves to him and hold his power in contempt he endeavours by every means to come to terms.[c]

I have gone into these matters, not without realizing that some will dare to say that I have here used an argument which lies beyond the scope of my subject. I, however, hold that never has an argument been advanced more pertinent than this to the foregoing discussion, neither is there any by which one can show more clearly that our ancestors were wiser in dealing with the greatest questions than were those who governed our city and the city of the Spartans after the war against Xerxes. For it will be seen that these states in the times following that war made

πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰρήνην ποιησάμεναι, σφᾶς δ' αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀπολλύουσαι
[267] νῦν τε τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πρέσβεις πέμπουσαι περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας· οἱ δὲ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες οὐδὲν
163 τούτων ἔπραττον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον· τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀπέχεσθαι σφόδρα δεδογμένον ἦν ὥσπερ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνακειμένων, τῶν δὲ πολέμων ὑπελάμβανον ἀναγκαιότατον μὲν εἶναι καὶ δικαιότατον τὸν μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν θηρίων γιγνόμενον, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς καὶ φύσει πολεμίους ὄντας καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἡμῖν.

164 Τοῦτον δ' εἴρηκα τὸν λόγον οὐκ αὐτὸς εὑρών, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων συλλογισάμενος. ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν πολλοῖς κακοῖς καὶ πολέμοις καὶ ταραχαῖς οὔσας, τὴν δ' αὑτῶν μόνην καλῶς διοικουμένην, οὐχ ἡγήσαντο δεῖν τοὺς ἄμεινον τῶν ἄλλων φρονοῦντας καὶ πράττοντας ἀμελεῖν οὐδὲ περιορᾶν τὰς τῆς αὐτῆς συγγενείας μετεχούσας ἀπολλυμένας, ἀλλὰ σκεπτέον εἶναι καὶ πρακτέον ὅπως ἁπάσας ἀπαλλάξουσι τῶν
165 κακῶν τῶν παρόντων. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθέντες τῶν μὲν ἧττον νοσουσῶν πρεσβείαις καὶ λόγοις ἐξαιρεῖν ἐπειρῶντο τὰς διαφοράς, εἰς δὲ τὰς μᾶλλον στασιαζούσας ἐξέπεμπον τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς μεγίστην παρ' αὐτοῖς δόξαν ἔχοντας, οἳ περί τε τῶν παρόντων

[a] The reference is to Athens, an Ionian state, as leader of the Ionian Colonization. The looseness of structure in this discourse is shown by his treatment of this theme in three places, in 42 ff. and in 190 ff. as well as here. *Cf. Paneg.* 34-37.

peace with the barbarians, that they were bent on destroying each other and the other Hellenic states, that at the present time they think themselves worthy to rule over the Hellenes, albeit they are sending ambassadors to the King, courting his friendship and alliance: whereas those who governed Athens before that time did nothing of the sort, but entirely the opposite; for they were as firmly resolved to keep their hands off the states of Hellas as were the devout to abstain from the treasures stored up in the temples of the gods, conceiving that, second only to the war which we carry on in alliance with all mankind against the savagery of the beasts, that war is the most necessary and the most righteous which we wage in alliance with the Hellenes against the barbarians, who are by nature our foes and are eternally plotting against us.

The principle is not of my invention but is deduced from the conduct of our ancestors. For when they saw that the other states were beset by many misfortunes and wars and seditions, while their own city alone was well governed, they did not take the view that those who were wiser and more fortunate than the rest of the world were justified in caring nothing about the others or in permitting those states which shared the same stock [a] with them to be destroyed, but rather that they were bound to take thought and adopt measures to deliver them all from their present misfortunes. Having determined upon this, they endeavoured in the case of the less afflicted states to compose their quarrels by means of embassies and persuasion, but to the states which were more severely rent by factions they dispatched the most highly reputed of their citizens, who advised

πραγμάτων αὐταῖς συνεβούλευον καὶ συγγιγνόμενοι τοῖς τε μὴ δυναμένοις ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ζῆν καὶ τοῖς χεῖρον γεγονόσιν ὧν οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσιν, οἵπερ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λυμαίνονται τὰς πόλεις, ἔπειθον μεθ' αὐτῶν στρατεύεσθαι καὶ βίον ζητεῖν
166 βελτίω τοῦ παρόντος. πολλῶν δὲ γιγνομένων τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων καὶ πειθομένων, στρατόπεδα συνιστάντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, τούς τε τὰς νήσους κατέχοντας τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντας καταστρεφόμενοι, καὶ πάντας ἐκβαλόντες, τοὺς μάλιστα βίου
[268] δεομένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατῴκιζον. καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποδεικνύοντες διετέλουν, ἕως ἤκουσαν Σπαρτιάτας τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ κατοικούσας, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὑφ' αὐτοῖς πεποιημένους· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἠναγκάζοντο προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν.

167 Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ περὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ πραγματείας; τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι μάλιστα ποθεῖν ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς πολλούς. τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησιν εὐπορωτέροις γενέσθαι τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον καὶ μᾶλλον ὁμονοεῖν τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων ἀπαλλαγεῖσι, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ φρονεῖν ἔλαττον ἢ πρότερον, τοῖς δ' αἰτίοις τούτων γεγενημένοις εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν διπλασίαν πεποιηκέναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς συστάσης.

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[a] See *Phil.* 121 ff.

[b] Isocrates regards the Ionian Colonization as contemporaneous with the Dorian Conquest of the Peloponnesus.

them regarding their present difficulties, and, associating themselves with the people who were unable to gain a livelihood in their own states or who had fallen below the requirements of the laws—a class which is generally destructive to ordered states[a]—, they urged these to take the field with them and to seek to improve the conditions of their present life; and when there proved to be many who were inclined and persuaded to take this course, they organized them into an army, conquered the peoples who occupied the islands of the barbarians and who dwelt along the coast of either continent, expelled them all, and settled in their stead those of the Hellenes who stood in greatest need of the necessities of life. And they continued doing this and setting this example to others until they learned that the Spartans, as I have related, had subjected to their power all the cities which are situated in the Peloponnesus.[b] After this they were compelled to centre their thoughts upon their own interests.

What, then, is the good which has resulted from the war which we waged and the trouble which we took in the colonization of the Hellenes? For this is, I think, a question which the majority would very much like to have answered. Well, the result was that the Hellenes found it easier to obtain subsistence and enjoyed a greater degree of concord after they had been relieved of so great a number of the class of people which I have described; that the barbarians were driven forth from their own territory and humbled in their pride; and that those who had brought these conditions to pass gained the fame and the name of having made Hellas twice as strong as she was of old.

168 Μεῖζον μὲν οὖν εὐεργέτημα τούτου καὶ κοινότερον τοῖς Ἕλλησι γεγενημένον παρὰ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ἐξευρεῖν· οἰκειότερον δὲ τῇ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ δόξης οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἄξιον καὶ πᾶσι φανερώτερον ἴσως ἕξομεν εἰπεῖν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ἢ τίς οὐκ ἀκήκοε τῶν τραγῳδοδιδασκάλων Διονυσίοις, τὰς Ἀδράστῳ γε-
169 νομένας ἐν Θήβαις συμφοράς, ὅτι κατάγειν βουληθεὶς τὸν Οἰδίπου μὲν υἱὸν αὑτοῦ δὲ κηδεστὴν παμπληθεῖς μὲν Ἀργείων ἀπώλεσεν, ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐπεῖδε διαφθαρέντας, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπονειδίστως σωθείς, ἐπειδὴ σπονδῶν οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν τυχεῖν οὐδ' ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ἱκέτης γενόμενος τῆς πόλεως, ἔτι Θησέως αὐτὴν διοικοῦντος, ἐδεῖτο μὴ περιιδεῖν τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἀτάφους γενομένους μηδὲ παλαιὸν ἔθος καὶ πάτριον νόμον καταλυόμενον, ᾧ πάντες ἄνθρωποι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν οὐχ ὡς ὑπ' ἀνθρωπίνης κειμένῳ φύσεως, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ δαιμονίας προστεταγμένῳ δυνάμεως;
170 ὧν ἀκούσας οὐδένα χρόνον ἐπισχὼν ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψε πρεσβείαν εἰς Θήβας, περί τε τῆς ἀναιρέσεως συμβουλεύσοντας αὐτοῖς ὁσιώτερον βουλεύσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν νομιμωτέραν ποιήσασθαι τῆς πρότερον γενομένης, κἀκεῖνο ὑποδείξοντας, ὡς ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει παραβαίνουσι τὸν νόμον
171 τὸν κοινὸν ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὧν ἀκούσαντες
[269] οἱ κύριοι τότε Θηβῶν ὄντες οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔγνωσαν οὔτε ταῖς δόξαις αἷς ἔχουσί τινες περὶ αὐτῶν, οὔθ' οἷς ἐβουλεύσαντο πρότερον, ἀλλὰ μετρίως περὶ

[a] See Aeschylus, *The Seven against Thebes*; Sophocles, *Antigone*; Euripides, *Phoenician Women*.

[b] Compare the treatment of the Adrastus episode in *Paneg.* 54 ff.

[c] See *Paneg.* 55, note.

I could not, then, point out a greater service than this, rendered by our ancestors, nor one more generally beneficial to the Hellenes. But I shall, perhaps, be able to show one more particularly related to their conduct of war, and, at the same time, no less admirable and more manifest to all. For who does not himself know or has not heard from the tragic poets [a] at the Dionysia of the misfortunes which befel Adrastus [b] at Thebes, how in his desire to restore to power the son of Oedipus, his own son-in-law, he lost a great number of his Argive soldiers in the battle and saw all of his captains slain, though saving his own life in dishonour, and, when he failed to obtain a truce and was unable to recover the bodies of his dead for burial, he came as a suppliant to Athens, while Theseus still ruled the city, and implored the Athenians not to suffer such men to be deprived of sepulture nor to allow ancient custom and immemorial law to be set at naught—that ordinance which all men respect without fail, not as having been instituted by our human nature, but as having been enjoined by the divine power? [c] When our people heard this plea, they let no time go by but at once dispatched ambassadors to Thebes to advise her people that they be more reverent in their deliberations regarding the recovery of the dead and that they render a decision which would be more lawful than that which they had previously made, and to hint to them also that the Athenians would not countenance their transgression of the common law of all Hellas. Having heard this message, those who were then in authority at Thebes came to a decision which was in harmony neither with the opinion which some people have of them nor with their previous resolution ; on

αὐτῶν τε διαλεχθέντες καὶ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων κατηγορήσαντες ἔδοσαν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν.

172 Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τἀναντία τυγχάνω λέγων οἷς ἐν τῷ Πανηγυρικῷ λόγῳ φανείην ἂν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων γεγραφώς· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδένα νομίζω τῶν ταῦτα συνιδεῖν ἂν δυνηθέντων τοσαύτης ἀμαθίας εἶναι καὶ φθόνου μεστόν, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ με καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἡγήσαιτο τότε μὲν ἐκείνως νῦν δ' οὕτω διαλεχθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν.
173 περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι καλῶς γέγραφα καὶ συμφερόντως· ὅσον δ' ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διέφερε τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀποδεῖξαι βουλόμενος διῆλθον τὰ γενόμενα Θήβῃσιν, ἡγοῦμαι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐκείνην ἅπασι σαφῶς δηλοῦν, τὴν τὸν μὲν βασιλέα τὸν Ἀργείων ἀναγκάσασαν ἱκέτην γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας,
174 τοὺς δὲ κυρίους ὄντας Θηβῶν οὕτω διαθεῖσαν, ὥστε ἑλέσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πεμφθεῖσιν ἢ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου κατασταθεῖσιν· ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν οἷα τ' ἐγένετο διοικῆσαι κατὰ τρόπον ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πολὺ διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων.

175 Ἔχων δὲ πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς πράξεις περὶ τῶν προγόνων εἰπεῖν, σκοποῦμαι τίνα τρόπον διαλεχθῶ περὶ αὐτῶν. μέλει γάρ μοι τούτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων· τυγχάνω γὰρ ὢν περὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἣν ἐποιησάμην τελευταίαν, ἐν ᾗ προεῖπον ὡς ἐπιδείξω

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[a] The version here is less offensive to the Thebans, perhaps

the contrary, after both stating the case for themselves in reasonable terms and denouncing those who had invaded their country, they conceded to our city the recovery of the dead.

And let no one suppose that I fail to realize that I am giving a different version of these same events from that which I shall be found to have written in the *Panegyricus*. But I do not think that anyone of those who can grasp the meaning of these events is so obsessed by stupidity and envy as not to commend me and consider me discreet for the manner in which I have treated them then and now.[a] On this topic, then, I know that I have written wisely and expediently. But how pre-eminent our city stood in war at that time—for it was with the desire to show this that I discussed what happened at Thebes—is, I consider, clearly revealed to all by the circumstances which compelled the king of the Argives to become a suppliant of Athens and which so disposed the authorities at Thebes towards us that they chose of their own accord to accommodate themselves to the words dispatched to them by Athens more than to the laws ordained by the divine power. For our city would not have been in a position to settle properly any of those questions had she not stood far above the others both in reputation and in power.

Although I have many noble things to tell of in the conduct of our ancestors, I am debating in my mind in what manner to present them. Indeed I am more concerned about this than about any other thing. For I come now to that part of my subject which I reserved for the last—that part in which I promised

because Athens is now cultivating friendlier relations with Thebes.

τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς
μάχαις πλέον διενεγκόντας Σπαρτιατῶν ἢ τοῖς
176 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν. ἔσται δ' ὁ λόγος παράδοξος μὲν
τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὁμοίως δ' ἀληθὴς τοῖς ἄλλοις.

Ἄρτι μὲν οὖν ἠπόρουν ποτέρων διεξίω πρότερον
τοὺς κινδύνους καὶ τὰς μάχας, τὰς Σπαρτιατῶν
ἢ τὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων· νῦν δὲ προαιροῦμαι λέγειν
τὰς ἐκείνων, ἵν' ἐν ταῖς καλλίοσι καὶ δικαιοτέραις
177 καταλύω τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τούτων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ
[270] Δωριέων οἱ στρατεύσαντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον
τριχῇ διείλοντο τάς τε πόλεις[1] καὶ τὰς χώρας ἃς[2]
ἀφείλοντο τοὺς δικαίως κεκτημένους, οἱ μὲν Ἄργος
λαχόντες καὶ Μεσσήνην παραπλησίως διῴκουν τὰ
σφέτερ' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον
μέρος αὐτῶν, οὓς καλοῦμεν νῦν Λακεδαιμονίους,
στασιάσαι μέν φασιν αὐτοὺς οἱ τἀκείνων ἀκρι-
βοῦντες ὡς οὐδένας ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, περι-
γενομένους δὲ τοὺς μεῖζον τοῦ πλήθους φρονοῦντας
οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν συμ-
178 βεβηκότων τοῖς τοιαῦτα διαπεπραγμένοις· τοὺς
μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους συνοίκους ἔχειν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς
στασιάσαντας καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἁπάντων πλὴν τῶν
ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν τιμῶν· οὓς οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι
Σπαρτιατῶν τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας, εἰ νομίζουσιν
ἀσφαλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι μετὰ τούτων οἰκοῦντες,
περὶ οὓς τὰ μέγιστα τυγχάνουσιν ἐξημαρτηκότες·
αὐτοὺς δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ σφίσι
μὲν αὐτοῖς ἰσονομίαν καταστῆσαι καὶ δημοκρατίαν

[1] τάς τε πόλεις Γ: τὰς πόλεις vulg.
[2] ἃς inseruit Blass.

[a] For the comparison of the early wars of Sparta and Athens, 175-198, *cf. Paneg.* 51-70.

to show that our ancestors excelled the Spartans much more in their wars and battles than in all other respects.[a] What I say on this topic will be counter to the opinions of the majority, but in equal degree it will appeal to the rest as the truth.

A moment ago I was undecided whether I should first review the wars and battles of the Spartans or our own. Now, however, I elect to speak first of the perils and the battles of the Spartans, in order that I may close the discussion of this subject with struggles more honourable and more righteous. When, then, the Dorians who invaded the Peloponnesus divided into three parts both the cities and the lands which they had taken from their rightful owners, those of them who received Argos and Messene as their portions ordered their affairs very much as did the Hellenes in general. But the third division of them, whom we now call Lacedaemonians, were, according to close students of their history, more embroiled in factional strife than any other people of Hellas. Moreover, the party which looked down upon the multitude, having got the upper hand, did in no wise adopt the same measures regarding the issues of that conflict as the other Hellenes who had gone through a similar experience. For the latter suffered the opposing party to live with them and share in all the privileges of the state, excepting the offices and the honours, whereas the intelligent class among the Spartans held that such men were foolish in thinking that they could live in the same city with those against whom they had committed the greatest wrongs and yet govern the state in security; they themselves did nothing of the sort, but instead set up amongst their own class the only kind of equality and

τοιαύτην, οἵαν περ χρὴ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἅπαντα
τὸν χρόνον ὁμονοήσειν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον περιοίκους
ποιήσασθαι, καταδουλωσαμένους αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς
179 *οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ τὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν· ταῦτα δὲ πρά-*
ξαντας τῆς χώρας, ἧς προσῆκεν ἴσον ἔχειν ἕκα-
στον, αὐτοὺς μὲν λαβεῖν ὀλίγους ὄντας οὐ μόνον
τὴν ἀρίστην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοσαύτην ὅσην οὐδένες τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἔχουσι, τῷ δὲ πλήθει τηλικοῦτον ἀπο-
νεῖμαι μέρος τῆς χειρίστης ὥστ' ἐπιπόνως ἐργαζο-
μένους μόλις ἔχειν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
διελόντας τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὡς οἷόντ' ἦν εἰς ἐλα-
χίστους εἰς τόπους κατοικίσαι μικροὺς καὶ πολ-
λούς, ὀνόμασι μὲν προσαγορευομένους ὡς πόλεις
οἰκοῦντας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἔχοντας ἐλάττω τῶν
180 *δήμων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν· ἁπάντων δ' ἀποστερήσαντας*
αὐτοὺς ὧν προσήκει μετέχειν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους,
τοὺς πλείστους ἐπιθεῖναι τῶν κινδύνων αὐτοῖς·
ἔν τε γὰρ ταῖς στρατείαις, αἷς ἡγεῖται βασιλεύς,
[271] *κατ' ἄνδρα συμπαρατάττεσθαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς,*
ἐνίους δὲ καὶ τῆς πρώτης τάττειν, ἐάν τέ που
δεήσαν αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμψαι βοήθειαν φοβηθῶσιν ἢ
τοὺς πόνους ἢ τοὺς κινδύνους ἢ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ
χρόνου, τούτους ἀποστέλλειν προκινδυνεύσοντας
181 *τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν ἁπάσας δι-*

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[a] Those who enjoyed citizenship in Sparta are called by Aristotle (*Politics* viii. 7) ὅμοιοι, "equals." *Cf. Areop.* 61.

[b] In historical times the population of Laconia, the valley of the Eurotas river, was made up of the Spartans, who lived in the city of Lacedaemon (Sparta seems to have been a later name); the Helots, serfs bound to the soil, who worked the estates owned by the Spartans, paying a high rental, sometimes half the crop; and the Perioeci, free-holders of land, who were scattered in villages throughout the Eurotas

democracy [a] which is possible if men are to be at all times in complete accord, while reducing the mass of the people to the condition of Perioeci,[b] subjecting their spirits to a bondage no less abject than that endured by slaves. And having done this, they disposed of the land, of which by right every man should have had an equal share, seizing for themselves—the few—not only the richest but more than any of the Hellenes possess, while to the mass of the people they apportioned only enough of the poorest land so that by working laboriously they could hardly gain their daily bread. Then they divided the multitude into the smallest groups possible and settled them upon many small tracts—groups who in name were spoken of as dwelling in cities, but in reality had less power than the townships with us. And, having despoiled them of all the rights which free men ought to share, they imposed upon them the greatest part in all dangers. For in the campaigns which were conducted by their kings they not only ranged them man for man side by side with themselves, but some they stationed in the first line, and whenever need arose to dispatch a relief-force anywhere and they themselves were afraid of the hardships or the dangers or the length of time involved, they sent them forth to take the brunt of the danger from all the rest. But why

Valley—"the land of a hundred towns," possessing apparently their own local governments, but under the general control and supervision of the Spartan state. These, like the Helots, were probably made up mainly of earlier inhabitants conquered by the Spartans. See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* pp. 30 ff. Isocrates' picture of the driving out of the Perioeci from participation in the Spartan state as the result of a bitter factional fight seems to rest on a very doubtful tradition. See Grote's extended discussion of this passage, vol. ii. pp. 367 ff.

ἐξιόντα τὰς ὕβρεις τὰς περὶ τὸ πλῆθος γιγνομένας, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ μέγιστον εἰπόντα τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν ἄλλων; τῶν γὰρ οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεινὰ πεπονθότων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς χρησίμων ὄντων, ἔξεστι τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀκρίτους ἀποκτεῖναι τοσούτους ὁπόσους ἂν βουληθῶσιν· ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν οὐδὲ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν οἰκετῶν ὅσιόν ἐστι μιαιφονεῖν.

182 Τούτου δ' ἕνεκα περὶ τῆς οἰκειότητος καὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων εἰς αὐτοὺς διὰ πλειόνων διῆλθον, ἵν' ἔρωμαι τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους ἁπάσας τὰς Σπαρτιατῶν πράξεις, εἰ καὶ ταύτας ἀποδέχονται, καὶ τὰς μάχας εὐσεβεῖς εἶναι νομίζουσι καὶ καλὰς
183 τὰς πρὸς τούτους γεγενημένας. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλας μὲν αὐτὰς γεγενῆσθαι καὶ δεινὰς καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίας τοῖς μὲν ἡττηθεῖσι κακῶν τοῖς δὲ κατορθώσασι λημμάτων, ὧνπερ ἕνεκα πολεμοῦντες ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦσιν, οὐ μὴν ὁσίας οὐδὲ καλὰς οὐδὲ πρεπούσας τοῖς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιουμένοις, μὴ τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνῶν ὀνομαζομένης καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς μετ' εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐγγιγνομένης, περὶ ἧς
184 ἅπας ὁ λόγος ἐστίν. ἧς ὀλιγωροῦντές τινες ἐγκωμιάζουσι τοὺς πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἡμαρτηκότας, καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνονται τὰς διανοίας ἐπιδεικνύντες

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[a] The Perioeci, like the Helots, were subject to military service more and more as the pure Spartan population declined; but Isocrates' complaint that they were made to take the brunt of danger is probably an exaggeration. However, the power of the Spartan magistrates, the Ephors, to condemn them to death without trial is well attested. See Gilbert, *Greek Const. Antiquities* p. 58.

make a long story by detailing all the outrages which were visited upon the common people? Why not, rather, mention the greatest of their misfortunes and refuse to be burdened with the rest? For over these people, who have from the beginning suffered evils so dreadful, but in present emergencies are found so useful, the Ephors have the power to put to death without trial as many as they please,[a] whereas in the other states of Hellas it is a crime against the gods to stain one's hands with the blood of even the basest of slaves.

But the reason I have at some length gone into their domestic policy and the wrongs which they have committed against the common people is, that I may ask those who applaud all the actions of the Spartans whether they applaud these also and whether they look upon those struggles as righteous and honourable which have been carried on against these men. For I, for my part, regard them as having been great and terrible and the source of many injuries to the defeated and of many gains to the victors—gains for whose sake they are at all times continually waging war—but not, no, not as righteous or even as honourable or becoming to men who lay claim to excellence. I speak, not of excellence as that word is used in the arts or in many other activities, but of the excellence which in the hearts of good men and true is engendered in company with righteousness and justice. And it is this kind of excellence which is the subject of my whole discourse. But depreciating this, some men heap praise upon those who have committed more crimes than all others and are not aware that they are betraying their own thoughts

τὰς σφετέρας αὐτῶν, ὅτι κἀκείνους ἂν ἐπαινέσειαν, τοὺς πλείω μὲν κεκτημένους τῶν ἱκανῶν, ἀποκτεῖναι δ' ἂν τολμήσαντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς κοινωνοὺς ὥστε καὶ τἀκείνων λαβεῖν· ὅμοια γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν πεπραγμένοις, ἃ τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἄρτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν γνώμην.

185 Θαυμάζω δ' εἴ τινες τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς νίκας
[272] τὰς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον γιγνομένας μὴ νομίζουσιν
αἰσχίους εἶναι καὶ πλειόνων ὀνειδῶν μεστὰς ἢ
τὰς ἥττας τὰς ἄνευ κακίας συμβαινούσας, καὶ
ταῦτ' εἰδότες ὅτι μεγάλαι δυνάμεις πονηραὶ δὲ
πολλάκις γίγνονται κρείττους ἀνδρῶν σπουδαίων
καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αἱρουμένων.
186 οὓς πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐπαινοῖμεν ἢ τοὺς περὶ
τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἑτοίμως ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθέλοντας
καὶ τοῖς ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὁμοίους ὄντας·
ταῦτα μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἔργα πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ
δὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἐνίοτε χεῖρον ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν
ἀδικεῖν βουλομένων θεῶν ἄν τις ἀμέλειαν εἶναι
187 φήσειεν. ἔχοιμι δ' ἂν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ χρήσασθαι
καὶ περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῆς Σπαρτιάταις ἐν Θερμοπύλαις γενομένης, ἣν ἅπαντες ὅσοι περ ἀκηκόασιν ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ θαυμάζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς νίκας τὰς κρατησάσας μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων, πρὸς οὓς δ' οὐκ ἐχρῆν γεγενημένας· ἃς εὐλογεῖν τινες τολμῶσι, κακῶς εἰδότες ὡς οὐδὲν οὔθ' ὅσιον οὔτε καλόν ἐστι τῶν μὴ μετὰ δικαιο-
188 σύνης καὶ λεγομένων καὶ πραττομένων. ὧν Σπαρ-

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[a] *Cf. Phil.* 148 ; *Paneg.* 90 ; *Archid.* 99-100.

and showing that they would praise also men who, already possessing more wealth than they need, would not scruple to slay their own brothers and friends and associates so as to obtain their possessions also. For such crimes are parallel to the things which the Spartans have done. And those who applaud the latter cannot escape taking the same view also of the crimes which I have just mentioned.

I marvel that there are none who regard battles and victories won contrary to justice as more disgraceful and fraught with greater reproaches than defeats which are met without dishonour—and that too, knowing that great, but evil, powers prove often stronger than good men who choose to risk their lives for their country. For such men are much more deserving of our praise than those who, while ready and willing to face death to gain the possessions of others, are yet in no wise different from hireling soldiers. For these are the acts of men depraved, and if men of honest purpose sometimes come off worse in the struggle than men who desire to do injustice, we may attribute this to negligence of the gods. But I might apply this point also to the misfortune which befel the Spartans at Thermopylae, which all who have heard of it praise and admire more than the battles and victories which have been won over adversaries against whom wars ought never to have been waged,[a] albeit some are without scruple in extolling such successes, not realizing that nothing is either righteous or honourable which is not said or done with justice.[b]

[b] The high moral tone here is, like the plea for absolute justice as a principle of foreign policy in the *Peace*, inconsistent with the "practical" doctrine of 117-118. See note on 118.

τιάταις μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτ᾽ ἐμέλησεν· βλέπουσι γὰρ εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν ὅπως ὡς πλεῖστα τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κατασχήσουσιν· οἱ δ᾽ ἡμέτεροι περὶ οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν ὄντων ἐσπούδαζων ὡς τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμεῖν· ἡγοῦντο γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἂν γενέσθαι κρίσιν οὔτ᾽ ἀληθεστέραν οὔτε δικαιοτέραν τῆς ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ γένους γνωσθείσης.

189 δῆλοι δ᾽ ἦσαν οὕτως ἔχοντες ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς διῴκουν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν πραγμάτων. τριῶν γὰρ πολέμων γενομένων ἄνευ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις πρωτεύουσαν αὐτὴν παρέσχον. ὧν εἷς μὲν ἦν ὁ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἐν ᾧ πλέον διήνεγκαν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς κινδύνοις ἢ

190 ᾽κεῖνοι τῶν ἄλλων, δεύτερος δ᾽ ὁ περὶ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν ἀποικιῶν, εἰς ὃν Δωριέων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε συμπολεμήσων, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡγεμὼν κατα-

[273] στᾶσα τῶν οὐκ εὐπορούντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν βουλομένων τοσοῦτον τὰ πράγματα μετέστησεν, ὥστ᾽ εἰθισμένων τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις τῶν Ἑλληνίδων καταλαμβάνειν ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἃ πρότερον ἔπασχον, ταῦτα δύνασθαι ποιεῖν.

191 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῖν δυοῖν πολέμοιν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἱκανῶς εἰρήκαμεν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου

[a] Three "wars," with no attention to chronology: (1) that against Xerxes; (2) the warfare connected with the Ionian Colonization; (3) four campaigns summarized as one, all dealing with invasions: (*a*) that against Eumolpus and the Thracians; (*b*) that against the Scythians; (*c*) that against Eurystheus; (*d*) that against Dareius.

But the Spartans have never given a thought to this truth ; for they look to no other object than that of securing for themselves as many of the possessions of other peoples as they can. Our ancestors, on the other hand, have shown concern for nothing in the world so much as for a good name among the Hellenes; for they considered that there could be no truer or fairer judgement than that which is rendered by a whole race of people. And they have been manifestly of this mind both in their government of the state in other respects and in the conduct of the greatest affairs. For in the three wars,[a] apart from the Trojan war, which were fought by the Hellenes against the barbarians—in all these they placed our city in the forefront of the fighting. Of these wars, one was the struggle against Xerxes,[b] in which they were as much superior to the Lacedaemonians in every crisis as were the latter to the rest of the Hellenes. Another was the war connected with the founding of the colonies,[c] in which none of the Dorians came to help them, but in which Athens, having been made the leader of those who were lacking in the means of subsistence and of all others who desired to join with her, so completely reversed the state of affairs that, whereas the barbarians had been wont in times past to seize and hold the greatest cities of Hellas, she placed the Hellenes in a position where they were able to do what they had formerly suffered.

Now as to the two wars, I have said enough earlier in this discourse.[d] I shall now take up the third,

[b] See 49 ff.
[c] See 42 ff. and 164 ff.
[d] In 49 ff., 42 ff., 164 ff.

ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, ὃς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἄρτι κατῳκισμένων, τῆς δ' ἡμετέρας ἔτι βασιλευομένης. ἐφ' ὧν καὶ πόλεμοι πλεῖστοι καὶ κίνδυνοι μέγιστοι συνέπεσον, οὓς ἅπαντας μὲν οὔθ' εὑρεῖν οὔτ' εἰπεῖν ἂν δυνηθείην,
192 παραλιπὼν δὲ τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν τῷ χρόνῳ πραχθέντων ῥηθῆναι δὲ νῦν οὐ κατεπειγόντων, ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι συντομώτατα πειράσομαι δηλῶσαι τούς τ' ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς μάχας τὰς ἀξίας μνημονευθῆναι καὶ ῥηθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὰς προφάσεις ἃς ἔλεγον, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν γενῶν τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτοῖς· ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἔσται ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς οἷς περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων εἰρήκαμεν.
193 Θρᾷκες μὲν γὰρ μετ' Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, ὃς ἠμφισβήτησεν Ἐρεχθεῖ τῆς πόλεως, φάσκων Ποσειδῶ πρότερον Ἀθηνᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτήν· Σκύθαι δὲ μετ' Ἀμαζόνων τῶν ἐξ Ἄρεως γενομένων, αἳ τὴν στρατείαν ἐφ' Ἱππολύτην ἐποιήσαντο, τὴν τούς τε νόμους παραβᾶσαν τοὺς παρ' αὐταῖς κειμένους, ἐρασθεῖσάν τε Θησέως καὶ συνακολουθήσασαν ἐκεῖθεν
194 καὶ συνοικήσασαν αὐτῷ· Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ μετ' Εὐρυσθέως, ὃς Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν οὐκ ἔδωκε δίκην ὧν ἡμάρτανεν εἰς αὐτόν, στρατεύσας δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ὡς ἐκληψόμενος βίᾳ τοὺς ἐκείνου παῖδας, παρ' ἡμῖν γὰρ ἦσαν καταπεφευγότες, ἔπαθεν ἃ προσῆκεν αὐτόν. τοσούτου γὰρ ἐδέησε

[a] See *Paneg.* 68; *Archid.* 42; *Areop.* 75.

[b] See *Paneg.* 68.

[c] A queen of the Amazons, who, according to one legend, being enamoured of Theseus, deserted her own people and followed him to Athens. In one tradition she meets her

which took place when the other Hellenic cities had just been founded and while our own city was still ruled by kings. In those days there occurred at the same time very many wars and very great perils. I could neither ascertain nor set forth the history of all of them, and I shall pass over the great bulk of the things which were then done, but do not now press upon us to be told, and shall endeavour to inform you as briefly as I can of the enemies who attacked our city, of the battles which deserve to be recalled and recounted, of their leaders, and, furthermore, of the pretexts which they alleged, and of the strength of the peoples who joined in their campaigns. For these details will be enough to discuss in addition to what we have said about our adversaries.

For our country was invaded by the Thracians, led by Eumolpus,[a] son of Poseidon, who disputed the possession of Athens with Erechtheus, alleging that Poseidon had appropriated the city before Athena; also by the Scythians, led by the Amazons,[b] the offspring of Ares, who made the expedition to recover Hippolyte,[c] since she had not only broken the laws which were established among them, but had become enamoured of Theseus and followed him from her home to Athens and there lived with him as his consort; again, by the Peloponnesians, led by Eurystheus,[d] who not only refused to make amends to Heracles for his ill-treatment of him but brought an army against our ancestors with the object of seizing by force the sons of Heracles, who had taken refuge with us. However, he met with the fate which was his due. For so far did he fail of getting

death fighting against the Amazons, who came to recover her. Pausanias i. 2. 1.

[d] See *Paneg.* 58 ff.

κύριος γενέσθαι τῶν ἱκετῶν, ὥστε ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ
καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων, αὐτὸς ἱκέτης
γενόμενος τούτων οὓς ἐξαιτῶν ἦλθε, τὸν βίον
195 ἐτελεύτησεν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ
[274] Δαρείου τὴν Ἑλλάδα πορθήσοντες, ἀποβάντες εἰς
Μαραθῶνα, πλείοσι κακοῖς καὶ μείζοσι συμφοραῖς
περιπεσόντες ὧν ἤλπισαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ποιήσειν,
ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

196 Τούτους δ' ἅπαντας οὓς διῆλθον, οὐ μετ' ἀλλήλων
εἰσβαλόντας οὐδὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλ'
ὡς οἵ τε καιροὶ καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἑκάστοις καὶ τὸ
βούλεσθαι συνέπιπτε, μάχῃ νικήσαντες καὶ τῆς
ὕβρεως παύσαντες, οὐκ ἐξέστησαν αὑτῶν τηλικαῦτα
διαπραξάμενοι τὸ μέγεθος, οὐδ' ἔπαθον ταὐτὸ τοῖς
διὰ μὲν τὸ καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως βουλεύσασθαι καὶ
πλούτους μεγάλους καὶ δόξας καλὰς κτησαμένοις,
διὰ δὲ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τὰς τούτων ὑπερηφάνοις γενο-
μένοις καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν διαφθαρεῖσι καὶ κατενεχθεῖ-
σιν εἰς χείρω πράγματα καὶ ταπεινότερα τῶν πρότε-
197 ρον αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-
φυγόντες ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ἤθεσιν οἷς εἶχον διὰ τὸ
πολιτεύεσθαι καλῶς, μεῖζον φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς
ψυχῆς ἕξει καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις ταῖς αὑτῶν ἢ ταῖς
μάχαις ταῖς γεγενημέναις, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν
ἄλλων θαυμαζόμενοι διὰ τὴν καρτερίαν ταύτην καὶ
σωφροσύνην ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀνδρίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις
198 αὐτοῖς παραγενομένην· ἑώρων γὰρ πάντες τὴν μὲν
εὐψυχίαν τὴν πολεμικὴν πολλοὺς ἔχοντας καὶ τῶν

[a] See *Paneg.* 71-72, 85-87.

our suppliants into his power that, having been defeated in battle and taken captive by our people, he became the suppliant of those whom he had come to demand of us, and lost his own life. Later than Eurystheus, the troops dispatched by Dareius [a] to ravage Hellas landed at Marathon, fell upon more misfortunes and greater disasters than they had hoped to inflict upon our city, and fled in rout from all Hellas.

All these whom I have instanced, having invaded our country—not together nor at the same time, but as opportunity and self-interest and desire concurred in each case—our ancestors conquered in battle and put an end to their insolence. And yet they did not forsake their true selves [b] after they had achieved successes of such magnitude nor did they experience the same misadventure as those who, owing to the exercise of good and wise judgement, have attained great wealth and good reputation, but who, owing to excess of good fortune, have grown overweening, lost their senses, and have been brought down to lower and meaner circumstances than those which they enjoyed before. On the contrary, they escaped all such aberrations and remained steadfast in the character which they had because of the excellence of their government, taking more pride in their state of soul and in the quality of their minds than in the battles which had been fought, and being more admired by the rest of the world because of this self-control and moderation than because of the bravery displayed in their perils. For all men saw that the fighting spirit is possessed

[b] See for the figure and the thought, 32 ; General Introd. Vol. I., L.C.L. pp. xxxii ff.

ταῖς κακουργίαις ὑπερβαλλόντων, τῆς δὲ χρησίμης ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ πάντας δυναμένης ὠφελεῖν οὐ κοινωνοῦντας τοὺς πονηρούς, ἀλλὰ μόνοις ἐγγιγνομένην τοῖς καλῶς γεγονόσι καὶ τεθραμμένοις καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις, ἅπερ προσῆν τοῖς τότε τὴν πόλιν διοικοῦσι καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγαθῶν ἁπάντων αἰτίοις καταστᾶσιν.

199 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ὁρῶ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων καὶ μάλιστα μνημονευθησόμενα τοὺς λόγους καταλύοντας, ἐγὼ δὲ σωφρονεῖν μὲν νομίζω τοὺς ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντας καὶ πράττοντας, οὐ μὴν συμβαίνει μοι ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ἔτι λέγειν ἀναγκάζομαι. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν δι' ἥν, ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐρῶ, μικρὰ πάνυ προδιαλεχθείς.

200 Ἐπηνώρθουν μὲν γὰρ τὸν λόγον τὸν μέχρι τῶν ἀναγνωσθέντων γεγραμμένον μετὰ μειρακίων τριῶν
[275] ἢ τεττάρων τῶν εἰθισμένων μοι συνδιατρίβειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεξιοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ προσδεῖσθαι τελευτῆς μόνον, ἔδοξέ μοι μεταπέμψασθαί τινα τῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν πεπλησιακότων, ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δὲ πεπολιτευμένον, προῃρημένον δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαινεῖν, ἵν' εἴ τι παρέλαθεν ἡμᾶς ψεῦδος εἰρημένον, ἐκεῖνος κατιδὼν δηλώσειεν ἡμῖν.
201 ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ κληθεὶς καὶ διαναγνοὺς τὸν λόγον (τὰ γὰρ μεταξὺ τί δεῖ λέγοντα διατρίβειν;), ἐδυσχέρανε μὲν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἐπῄνεσε δ' ὡς δυνατὸν μάλιστα, καὶ διελέχθη περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν μερῶν παραπλησίως οἷς ἡμεῖς ἐγιγνώσκομεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φανερὸς ἦν οὐχ ἡδέως ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ
202 Λακεδαιμονίων εἰρημένοις. ἐδήλωσε δὲ διὰ τα-

[a] It has been conjectured, with no degree of certainty, that the pupil here referred to was Theopompus, the historian.

by many even of those who outdo others in villainy, while that spirit which is beneficent in all things and is helpful to all men is not shared by the depraved, but is engendered only in men who are of good birth and breeding and education—even such as were those who then governed our city and brought to pass all the good things which I have described.

Now I observe that the other orators close their discourses with the greatest and most memorable deeds, but, while I commend the wisdom of those who hold and practise this principle, yet I am not in a position to do this same thing, but am compelled to go on with my discourse. The reason why, I shall explain presently, after first saying just a word.

After I had written out my discourse as far as what has been read, I was revising it with three or four youths who are wont to spend their time in my society. And when, on going over what I had written, it seemed to us to be good and to require only an ending, it occurred to me to send for one of those who had studied with me [a] but had lived under an oligarchy and had elected to extol the Lacedaemonians. I did this in order that, if any false statement had escaped me, he might detect it and point it out to me. He came, upon being summoned, and, having read through my discourse (for why take up time in relating what happened in the interval?), he took no offence at anything which I had written but, on the contrary, praised the speech in the highest possible terms and expressed views on each part of it which were very similar to those which I held. And yet it was manifest that he was not pleased with what I had said about the Lacedaemonians. And he showed it forthwith; for he made

χέων· ἐτόλμησε γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πεποιήκασι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκεῖνό γε δικαίως ἂν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντες χάριν ἔχοιεν, ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εὑρόντες αὐτοί τε χρῶνται καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατέδειξαν.

203 Τοῦτο δὲ ῥηθὲν οὕτω βραχὺ καὶ μικρὸν αἴτιον ἐγένετο τοῦ μήτε καταλῦσαί με τὸν λόγον ἐφ' ὧν ἐβουλήθην, ὑπολαβεῖν θ' ὡς αἰσχρὸν ποιήσω καὶ δεινόν, εἰ παρὼν περιόψομαί τινα τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπλησιακότων πονηροῖς λόγοις χρώμενον. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἠρόμην αὐτὸν εἰ μηδὲν φροντίζει τῶν παρόντων, μηδ' αἰσχύνεται λόγον εἰρηκὼς ἀσεβῆ καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ πολλῶν ἐναντιώσεων μεστόν.
204 "γνώσει δ' ὡς ἔστι τοιοῦτος, ἢν ἐρωτήσῃς τινὰς τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ποῖα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων κάλλιστα νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πόσος χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ Σπαρτιᾶται τυγχάνουσιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ κατοικοῦντες. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὅστις οὐ τῶν μὲν ἐπιτηδευμάτων προκρινεῖ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν τὴν περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, Σπαρτιάτας δ' ἐνταῦθα κατοικεῖν
205 οὐ πλείω φήσουσιν ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων. τούτων δ' οὕτως ἐχόντων, εἰ μὲν τυγχάνεις ἀληθῆ λέγων τούτους φάσκων εὑρετὰς γεγενῆσθαι τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τοὺς πολλαῖς γενεαῖς πρότερον γεγονότας, πρὶν Σπαρτιάτας
[276] ἐνταῦθα κατοικῆσαι, μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῶν, μήτε τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσαμένους μήτε τοὺς περὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Θησέα γεγονότας μήτε Μίνω τὸν

bold to say that if the Spartans had done no other service to the Hellenes, at any rate, they deserved the gratitude of all men because they had discovered the best ways of life and not only followed these ways themselves but had taught them to the rest of the world.

This assertion, so brief and so brusque, furnished the reason why I did not close my speech at the point where I was inclined to end it. I thought that it would be shameful and reprehensible on my part to permit one who had been my pupil to make in my presence a statement which was unsound. With this in mind, I asked him whether he had no regard for his present auditors and was not ashamed of having said things which were impious and false and full of many contradictions. "You will realize," I said, "that your assertion is such as I have declared it to be if you will ask any intelligent men, first what they think are the best ways of life, and next how long a time has passed since the Lacedaemonians settled in the Peloponnesus. For there is no one who, among the ways of life, will not give preference to the practice of reverence in relation to the gods and of justice in relation to mankind and of wisdom in relation to all activities in general, and they will tell you that the Spartans have lived in the Peloponnesus not more than seven hundred years. These things being so, if you speak the truth when you assert that they were the discoverers of the best ways of life, then it must follow that those who lived many generations before the Spartans settled there had no part in them—neither those who made the expedition against Troy nor those who were of the generation of Heracles and Theseus or of Minos, son

Διὸς μήτε Ῥαδάμανθυν μήτ' Αἰακὸν μήτε τῶν ἄλλων μηδένα τῶν ὑμνουμένων ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ταύταις, ἀλλὰ ψευδῆ τὴν δόξαν ταύτην ἅπαντας
206 ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν φλυαρῶν τυγχάνεις, προσήκει δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν γεγονότας καὶ χρῆσθαι ταύταις μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ καταδεῖξαι τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ μαίνεσθαι δόξεις ἅπασι τοῖς ἀκούσασιν, οὕτως εἰκῇ καὶ παρανόμως οὓς ἂν τύχῃς ἐπαινῶν. ἔπειτ' εἰ μὲν εὐλόγεις αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἀκηκοὼς τῶν ἐμῶν, ἐλήρεις μὲν ἄν, οὐ μὴν
207 ἐναντία γε λέγων ἐφαίνου σαυτῷ· νῦν δ' ἐπῃνεκότι σοι τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον, τὸν ἐπιδεικνύντα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ Λακεδαιμονίους περί τε τοὺς συγγενεῖς τοὺς αὑτῶν καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας διαπεπραγμένους, πῶς οἷόντ' ἦν ἔτι σοὶ λέγειν τοὺς ἐνόχους ὄντας τούτοις, ὡς τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἡγεμόνες γεγόνασιν;

208 "Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κἀκεῖνό σε λέληθεν, ὅτι τὰ παραλελειμμένα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες εὑρίσκουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ τάς τε φύσεις διαφέροντες καὶ μαθεῖν πλεῖστα τῶν πρότερον εὑρημένων δυνηθέντες καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τῷ ζητεῖν μᾶλλον τῶν
209 ἄλλων ἐθελήσαντες. ὧν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλέον ἀπέχουσι τῶν βαρβάρων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἂν φανεῖεν πολλῶν εὑρημάτων καὶ μαθηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι γεγονότες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελειμμένοι τῆς κοινῆς

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[a] Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus are half-legendary kings famed for their virtues, and especially their justice. They are sometimes pictured as dispensing justice in the world of the dead. See Plato, *Gorgias* 523.

of Zeus, or Rhadamanthus or Aeacus [a] or any of the others who are celebrated in song for the virtues which I have mentioned, but that all of them have in this respect a reputation which is false. But if, on the other hand, you are speaking nonsense, and if it is fitting that men who were descended from gods should have cultivated these virtues more than all others and transmitted them to their successors as well, then you cannot escape being thought mad by all who hear you for being so reckless and unjust and undiscriminating in your praise. Furthermore, if you were praising them without having heard any of my speech, you would no less be speaking drivel, but you would not be manifestly contradicting yourself. But now, since you have commended my discourse, which proves that the Lacedaemonians have committed many outrages both against their own kinsmen and the rest of the Hellenes, how could you then say that those who are open to these charges have been the leaders in the best ways of life?

"Moreover, this consideration also has escaped you, that the things which have been overlooked, whether in ways of living or in the arts or in all other activities, are not discovered by any and every one, but by men who have superior endowments and are both able to learn the most of what has been discovered before their time and willing more than all others to give their minds to the search for what is new. But in these respects the Lacedaemonians are more backward than the barbarians. For you will find that the latter have been both pupils and teachers of many discoveries, while the Lacedaemonians have fallen so far behind our common culture and learning that they

παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰσὶν ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲ γράμματα μανθάνουσιν, ἃ τηλικαύτην ἔχει δύναμιν ὥστε τοὺς ἐπισταμένους καὶ χρωμένους αὐτοῖς μὴ μόνον ἐμπείρους γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς αὑτῶν πραχθέντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πώποτε γενο-
210 μένων. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως σὺ καὶ τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαθεῖς ὄντας ἐτόλμησας εἰπεῖν ὡς εὑρεταὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων γεγόνασι, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐθίζουσι περὶ τοιαύτας πραγματείας διατρίβειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐλ-
[277] πίζουσιν αὐτοὺς οὐκ εὐεργέτας γενήσεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ κακῶς ποιεῖν μάλιστα δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

211 “Ἃς πάσας μὲν διεξιὼν πολὺν ὄχλον ἐμαυτῷ τ᾽ ἂν παράσχοιμι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, μίαν δὲ μόνον εἰπών, ἣν ἀγαπῶσι καὶ περὶ ἣν μάλιστα σπουδάζουσιν, οἶμαι δηλώσειν ἅπαντα τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐθὺς ἐξ εὐνῆς ἐκπέμπουσι τοὺς παῖδας, μεθ᾽ ὧν ἂν ἕκαστοι βουληθῶσι, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ θήραν, ἔργῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ
212 κλωπείαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς κατοικούντων· ἐν ᾗ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ληφθέντας ἀργύριον ἀποτίνειν καὶ πληγὰς λαμβάνειν, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖστα κακουργήσαντας καὶ λαθεῖν δυνηθέντας ἔν τε τοῖς παισὶν εὐδοκιμεῖν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ εἰς ἄνδρας συντελῶσιν, ἢν ἐμμείνωσι τοῖς ἤθεσιν οἷς παῖδες ὄντες ἐμελέτησαν, ἐγγὺς εἶναι τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν.

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[a] “ Before the development of the body, that of the mind

do not even try to instruct themselves in letters[a]—a science which has so much power that those who understand and use it become apprized not only of the things which have been accomplished in their own time but also of the things which have come to pass in any age whatsoever. Nevertheless, you have made bold to assert even of those who are ignorant of such matters that they have been the discoverers of the best ways of life, and that too when you know that they train their own boys in habits and practices by which they hope that, so far from becoming the benefactors of others, they will become most adept in doing injury to the Hellenes.

"Were I to go through all of these practices, I should greatly fatigue both myself and my hearers, but if I mention only a single one—one which they cherish most and by which they set most store—I think that I can put before you their whole manner of life. For every day they send out their boys, from the very cradle, as it were, with such companions as each may prefer, ostensibly to hunt, but in reality to steal[b] the property of the people who live in the country. In this practice, those who are caught are punished with fines and blows, while those who have accomplished the greatest number of thefts and have been able to escape detection enjoy a higher esteem among their fellow-youths than the others, and when they attain to manhood, provided they remain true to the ways which they practised in youth, they are in line for the most important offices.

had completely to give way" in Sparta. See Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 16; Gilbert, *Greek Const. Antiquities* p. 64.

[b] For this feature of their training see Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 17, 18; Xenophon, *Const. of Sparta* ii. 5 ff.; Gilbert, *Greek Const. Antiquities* p. 64.

213 “ Καὶ ταύτης ἣν τις ἐπιδείξῃ παιδείαν μᾶλλον ἀγαπωμένην ἢ σπουδαιοτέραν παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι νομιζομένην, ὁμολογῶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρηκέναι μηδὲ περὶ ἑνὸς πώποτε πράγματος. καίτοι τί τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων καλόν ἐστιν ἢ σεμνόν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ αἰσχύνης ἄξιον; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἀνοήτους χρὴ νομίζειν τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τοὺς τοσοῦτον τῶν νόμων τῶν κοινῶν ἐξεστηκότας καὶ μηδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν μήτε τοῖς Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖς βαρβάροις
214 γιγνώσκοντας; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τοὺς κακουργοῦντας[1] καὶ κλέπτοντας πονηροτέρους[2] τῶν οἰκετῶν νομίζουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἔργων πρωτεύοντας βελτίστους εἶναι τῶν παίδων ὑπολαμβάνουσι καὶ μάλιστα τιμῶσιν. καίτοι τίς ἂν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων οὐκ ἂν τρὶς ἀποθανεῖν ἕλοιτο μᾶλλον, ἢ διὰ τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων γνωσθῆναι τὴν ἄσκησιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ποιούμενος; ”

215 Ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας θρασέως μὲν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓν ἀντεῖπε τῶν εἰρημένων, οὐδ’ αὖ παντάπασιν ἀπεσιώπησεν, ἀλλ’ ἔλεγεν ὅτι “ σὺ μὲν πεποίησαι τοὺς λόγους ” ἐμὲ λέγων “ ὡς ἅπαντ’ ἀποδεχομένου μου τἀκεῖ καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν νομίζοντος· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖς περὶ μὲν τῆς τῶν παίδων αὐτονομίας καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμᾶν
216 ἐκείνοις, ἐμοῦ δ’ οὐ δικαίως κατηγορεῖν. ἐγὼ
[278] γὰρ ἐλυπήθην μὲν τὸν λόγον ἀναγιγνώσκων ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰρημένοις, οὐ μὴν οὕτως ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δύνασθαι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, εἰθισμένος τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐπαινεῖν. εἰς τοιαύτην δ’ ἀπορίαν καταστὰς εἶπον

[1] κακουργοῦντας vulg. : κατηγοροῦντας Γ.
[2] πονηροτέρους vulg. : πονηροτάτους Γ.

"If anyone can point out an education which is more cherished by them or by which they set greater store than this, I am willing to grant that there is not a word of truth in what I have said about anything whatsoever. And yet what is there in such conduct that is good or admirable and not, on the contrary, shameful? How can we fail to condemn the folly of those who extol men who have so far departed from our common laws and are in no respect of the same way of thinking as either the Hellenes or the barbarians? For the rest of the world looks upon malefactors and thieves as more depraved than slaves, whereas the Lacedaemonians regard those who stand first in such crimes as the best among their youths and honour them the most. And yet who that is in his right mind would not prefer to die many times rather than be known as seeking through such practices to school himself in virtue?"

When he heard this, he did not answer arrogantly any of the things which I had said, neither, on the other hand, was he altogether silent, but remarked as follows: "You"—meaning myself—"have spoken as if I applauded all of the ways of Sparta and considered them good. But in fact I think that you are right in condemning the Spartans for the licence practised by their youth and for many other things as well, but wrong in attacking me. For I was troubled on reading your speech by what you had said about the Lacedaemonians, but much more by my own inability to utter a single word in their defence against what you had written, accustomed as I had been at all other times to commend you. And when I found myself in this perplexity, I said the only thing

ὅπερ ἦν λοιπόν, ὡς εἰ καὶ μηδὲν δι' ἄλλο, διά γ'
ἐκεῖνο δικαίως ἂν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντες χάριν ἔχοιμεν,
ὅτι τοῖς καλλίστοις τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων χρώμενοι
217 τυγχάνουσιν. ταῦτα δ' εἶπον οὐ πρὸς τὴν εὐ-
σέβειαν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν
φρόνησιν ἀποβλέψας, ἃ σὺ διῆλθες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ
γυμνάσια τἀκεῖ καθεστηκότα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄσκησιν
τῆς ἀνδρίας καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συνόλως τὴν περὶ
τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμέλειαν, ἅπερ ἅπαντες ἂν ἐπαινοῖεν,
καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους χρῆσθαι φήσειαν."
218 Ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ διαλεχθέντος ἀπεδεξάμην μέν,
οὐχ ὡς διαλυόμενόν τι τῶν κατηγορημένων, ἀλλ'
ὡς ἀποκρυπτόμενον τὸ πικρότατον τῶν τότε
ῥηθέντων οὐκ ἀπαιδεύτως ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐχόντως,
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολελογημένον σωφρονέ-
στερον ἢ τότε παρρησιασάμενον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'
ἐκεῖν' ἐάσας περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἔφασκον κατ-
ηγορίαν ἔχειν πολὺ δεινοτέραν ἢ περὶ τῆς τῶν
219 παίδων κλωπείας. "ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιτη-
δεύμασιν ἐλυμαίνοντο τοὺς αὑτῶν παῖδας, οἷς δ'
ὀλίγῳ πρότερον σὺ διῆλθες, τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀπ-
ώλλυσαν. ῥᾴδιον δ', ὡς οὕτως εἶχε ταῦτα, συν-
ιδεῖν. οἶμαι γὰρ ἅπαντας ἂν ὁμολογῆσα κακίστους
ἄνδρας εἶναι καὶ μεγίστης ζημίας ἀξίους, ὅσοι
τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς εὑρημένοις ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ, τού-
220 τοις ἐπὶ βλάβῃ χρώμενοι τυγχάνουσι, μὴ πρὸς
τοὺς βαρβάρους μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας
μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὴν αὑτῶν χώραν εἰσβάλλοντας,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς συγ-
γενείας μετέχοντας· ἅπερ ἐποίουν Σπαρτιᾶται.

[a] See 204.

I could, namely, that for this reason at least, if for no other, they deserved the gratitude of all of us, because they followed the best ways of life. However, I said this, not with any thought of reverence or justice or wisdom—the virtues which you mentioned [a] —but having in mind the athletic practices which have been instituted among them, their training in courage, their spirit of concord, and, in a word, their discipline for war. These all men will commend, and will concede that the Spartans practise them most of all."

When he had said this, I accepted his explanation, feeling that it did not break down any of the criticisms which I had made but that it covered up, not without tact, nay, with good taste, the crudeness of his previous utterance, and that his defence on the other points showed greater moderation than his former brusque assertion. Nevertheless, though I dismissed that matter, I stated that with reference to these very claims which he made for the Spartans I had an attack which was much more damaging than what I had said on the subject of stealing among their youths. "For by that practice," I said, "they ruined their own youths, and by these which you have just mentioned, they seek to destroy the Hellenes. And it is easy to see at a glance that this is so; for I think that all men will agree that those men are the basest and deserve the severest punishment who take the discoveries which have been made for our benefit and use them for the injury, not of the barbarians nor of those who wrong them nor of those who invade their territory, but of those who are their nearest kin and share the same blood with them.[b] And this is

[b] The Perioeci, who, according to Isocrates, were of the Spartan blood, and their fellow-Dorians generally.

*καίτοι πῶς ὅσιόν ἐστι φάσκειν καλῶς χρῆσθαι
τοῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, οἵτινες οὓς
προσῆκε σώζειν, τούτους ἀπολλύοντες ἅπαντα
τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν;*

221 “ ’Αλλὰ *γὰρ οὐ σὺ μόνος ἀγνοεῖς τοὺς καλῶς
χρωμένους τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖ-
στοι τῶν* ‘Ελλήνων. *ἐπειδὰν γάρ τινας ἴδωσιν
ἢ πύθωνται παρά τινων ἐπιμελῶς διατρίβοντας*
[279] *περὶ τὰ δοκοῦντ’ εἶναι καλὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων,
ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ πολλοὺς λόγους ποιοῦνται περὶ αὐτῶν,*
222 *οὐκ εἰδότες τὸ συμβησόμενον. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς
δοκιμάζειν βουλομένους περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐν ἀρχῇ
μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ μηδεμίαν δόξαν ἔχειν περὶ
αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὰν δ’ εἰς τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἔλθωσιν,
ἐν ᾧ καὶ λέγοντας καὶ πράττοντας αὐτοὺς ὄψονται
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, τότε*
223 *θεωρεῖν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
νομίμως καὶ καλῶς χρωμένους οἷς ἐμελέτησαν
ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ πλημμελοῦντας καὶ
κακουργοῦντας ψέγειν καὶ μισεῖν καὶ φυλάττε-
σθαι τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὡς οὐχ αἱ
φύσεις αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων οὔτ’ ὠφελοῦσιν οὔτε
βλάπτουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ὡς αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
χρήσεις καὶ πράξεις ἁπάντων ἡμῖν αἴτιαι τῶν*
224 *συμβαινόντων εἰσίν. γνοίη δ’ ἄν τις ἐκεῖθεν· τὰ
γὰρ αὐτὰ πανταχῇ καὶ μηδαμῇ διαφέροντα τοῖς
μὲν ὠφέλιμα τοῖς δὲ βλαβερὰ γίγνεται. καίτοι
τὴν μὲν φύσιν ἔχειν ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων τὴν
ἐναντίαν αὐτὴν αὑτῇ καὶ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐκ εὔκολόν
ἐστιν· τὸ δὲ μηδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν συμβαίνειν τοῖς*

[a] See *Nicocles* 3-4 ; *Antid.* 251-252.

what the Spartans have done. And yet with what conscience can we say that they make good use of their warlike practices who have at all times without ceasing sought to destroy those whom it behoved them to save?

"In truth, however, it is not you alone who fail to distinguish those who make good use of things, but, I might almost say, the great majority of the Hellenes. For whenever they see or hear from others that any people devote themselves zealously to what appear to be good practices, they extol them and make many speeches about them, without knowing what will be the effects of this devotion. However, those who desire to form a correct judgement about such people should remain silent and have no opinion about them in the beginning, but when the time comes when they can observe them both speaking and taking action regarding both private and public affairs, then they should take accurate note of what they do in each case; and when men make good use of the things which they have practised, they should praise and honour them, but when they go wrong and do evil they should censure and abhor them and guard themselves against their ways, bearing in mind that things do not of their own nature either help or harm us, but that the manner in which they are used and employed by men is the cause of all the things which befall us.[a] One may grasp the truth of this from the following consideration: things which are in themselves always the same and never different are to some helpful and to others harmful. And yet it is not conceivable that each thing should have a nature which itself is contrary to itself and not the same. But, on the other hand, who that can reason correctly will not look upon

ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως πράττουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀσελγῶς
τε καὶ κακῶς, τίνι τῶν ὀρθῶς λογιζομένων οὐκ
ἂν εἰκότως ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι δόξειεν;
225 “ Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος λόγος καὶ περὶ τὰς ὁμονοίας
ἂν ἁρμόσειεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖναι τὴν φύσιν εἰσὶν
οὐκ ἀνόμοιαι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν
εὕροιμεν ἂν πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίας γιγνομένας,
τὰς δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν καὶ συμφορῶν. ὧν
μίαν εἶναί φημι καὶ τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν· εἰρήσεται
γὰρ τἀληθές, εἰ καί τισι δόξω λίαν παράδοξα
226 λέγειν. οὗτοι γὰρ τῷ ταὐτὰ γιγνώσκειν περὶ
τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων ἀλλήλοις στασιάζειν τοὺς
Ἕλληνας ὥσπερ τέχνην ἔχοντες, ἐποίουν, καὶ
τὸ χαλεπώτατον ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι τῶν κακῶν
γιγνόμενον, τοῦθ' αὑτοῖς ἁπάντων συμφορώτατον
ἐνόμιζον εἶναι· τὰς γὰρ οὕτω διακειμένας ἐξῆν
αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἠβούλοντο, διοικεῖν. ὥστ' οὐδεὶς
ἂν αὐτοὺς διά γε τὴν ὁμόνοιαν δικαίως ἐπαινέ-
[280] σειεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς καὶ
λῃστὰς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀδικίας ὄντας·
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμονοοῦντες τοὺς
227 ἄλλους ἀπολλύουσιν. εἰ δέ τισι δοκῶ τὴν παρα-
βολὴν ἀπρεπῆ πεποιῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν,
ταύτην μὲν ἐῶ, λέγω δὲ Τριβαλλούς, οὓς ἅπαντές
φασιν ὁμονοεῖν μὲν ὡς οὐδένας ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους,
ἀπολλύναι δ' οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὁμόρους καὶ τοὺς
πλησίον οἰκοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσων ἂν

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[a] For this concord—“ honour among thieves ”—see Plato, *Republic* 351 c.

[b] See *Peace* 50, note.

it as natural that the consequences should be by no means the same in the case of those who act rightly and justly and in the case of those who act wilfully and wickedly?

"This same argument applies also to the matter of concord; for this is not different in its nature from the things which I have discussed; on the contrary, we shall find that it is in some instances the cause of very many blessings, but in others of the greatest evils and misfortunes. And I contend that the concord of the Spartans is of the latter sort. For I shall speak the truth even at the risk of appearing to some to say what is quite contrary to the general opinion. For by being of one mind amongst themselves regarding the outside world they have always striven to set the Hellenes at variance with each other, reducing this practice, as it were, to a fine art; and they have always looked upon the cruellest of evils which befel the other states as of all things in the world the greatest of boons to themselves; for when the states were in such stress, they found it possible to manage them as they pleased. So that no one could justly praise them because of their concord, any more than one could praise pirates or brigands or men given to other forms of injustice. For such men also enjoy concord among themselves[a] and thereby seek to destroy all others. But if I appear to some to use a comparison which is not in keeping with the reputation of the Spartans, I discard this and instance the Triballians,[b] who, according to what all men say, are of one mind as are no other people on earth, but are bent on destroying not only those who border upon their territory and those who live in their neighbourhood but also all others whom they are able to reach.

228 ἐφικέσθαι δυνηθῶσιν. οὓς οὐ χρὴ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς
ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν
τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἀρετῶν δύναμιν. αὗται μὲν γὰρ οὐ τὰς σφετέρας
αὐτῶν φύσεις εὐεργετοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν παρα-
γενόμεναι παραμείνωσιν, εὐδαίμονας καὶ μακα-
ρίους ποιοῦσιν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τοὐναντίον, οἷς
μὲν ἂν πλησιάσωσιν, ἀπολλύουσι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
ἀγαθὰ πάντα περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται."
229 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν κατέσχον πρὸς ὃν τοὺς λόγους
ἐποιούμην, ἄνδρα δεινὸν καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειρον καὶ
περὶ τὸ λέγειν γεγυμνασμένον οὐδενὸς ἧττον τῶν
ἐμοὶ πεπλησιακότων. οὐ μὴν τὰ μειράκια τὰ πᾶσι
παραγεγενημένα τούτοις τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην
ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν ἐπῄνεσαν ὡς διειλεγμένον
τε νεαρωτέρως ἢ προσεδόκησαν ἠγωνισμένον τε
καλῶς, ἐκείνου δὲ κατεφρόνησαν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς γι-
230 γνώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ διημαρτηκότες ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπῄει φρονιμώτερος γεγενημένος καὶ
συνεσταλμένην ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν, ὥσπερ χρὴ τοὺς
εὖ φρονοῦντας, καὶ πεπονθὼς τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν
Δελφοῖς, αὑτόν τ' ἐγνωκὼς καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων
φύσιν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπελειπόμην
ἐπιτυχῶς μὲν ἴσως διειλεγμένος, ἀνοητότερος δὲ δι'
αὐτὸ τοῦτο γεγενημένος, καὶ φρονῶν μεῖζον ἢ
προσῆκε τοὺς τηλικούτους, καὶ ταραχῆς μειρα-
231 κιώδους μεστὸς ὤν. δῆλος δ' ἦν οὕτω διακείμενος·
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡσυχίας ἐπελαβόμην, οὐ πρότερον

But men who pretend to excellence must not imitate their example but much rather the power of wisdom and of justice and of the other virtues. For these do not work for the benefit of their own natures,[a] but whomsoever they visit and abide with—these they bless with prosperity and happiness. But the Lacedaemonians do the very opposite: whomsoever they approach they seek to destroy and they are ever striving to appropriate all the good things which belong to the world at large."

Having said these things, I silenced the man to whom I had addressed my remarks, albeit he was able and experienced in many things and had been trained in speaking no less than any of those who had been under my instruction. However, the youths who had been present at all this discussion did not form the same judgement as myself, but, while they applauded me both for having spoken more vigorously than they anticipated and for having debated well, they disparaged my opponent, although in fact they judged neither of us correctly but missed the truth as to us both. For he went his way, having grown wiser and feeling chastened in spirit, as is becoming to men of intelligence; he had experienced the force of the inscription at Delphi and come to know both himself and the nature of the Lacedaemonians better than before. I, on the other hand, remained, having perhaps debated effectively, but having because of this very fact shown less understanding, cherishing a greater pride than befits men of my age, and given over to youthful confusion. Manifestly I was in such a state of mind; for when I seized a moment of quiet,

[a] See the argument between Socrates and Thrasymachus in Plato, *Republic* Book I.

ἐπαυσάμην πρὶν ὑπέβαλον τῷ παιδὶ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ὀλίγῳ μὲν πρότερον μεθ' ἡδονῆς διῆλθον, μικρῷ δ'
[281] ὕστερον ἤμελλέ με λυπήσειν. τριῶν γὰρ ἢ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν διαλειφθεισῶν ἀναγιγνώσκων αὐτὰ καὶ διεξιών, ἐπὶ μὲν οἷς περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἦν εἰρηκώς, οὐκ ἠχθόμην, καλῶς γὰρ καὶ δικαίως ἦν
232 ἅπαντα περὶ αὐτῆς γεγραφώς, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλυπήθην καὶ βαρέως ἔφερον· οὐ γὰρ μετρίως ἐδόκουν μοι διαλέχθαι περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' ὀλιγώρως καὶ λίαν πικρῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνοήτως· ὥστε πολλάκις ὁρμήσας ἐξαλείφειν αὐτὸν ἢ κατακάειν μετεγίγνωσκον, ἐλεῶν τὸ γῆρας τοὐμαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν πόνον τὸν περὶ τὸν λόγον γεγενημένον.

233 Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δέ μοι ταραχῇ καθεστηκότι καὶ μεταβολὰς ποιουμένῳ πολλὰς ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι παρακαλέσαντι τῶν πεπλησιακότων τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας βουλεύσασθαι μετ' αὐτῶν, πότερον ἀφανιστέος παντάπασίν ἐστιν ἢ διαδοτέος τοῖς βουλομένοις λαμβάνειν, ὁπότερα δ' ἂν ἐκείνοις δόξῃ, ταῦτα ποιεῖν. τούτων γνωσθέντων οὐδεμίαν διατριβὴν ἐποιησάμην, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς παρεκέκληντο μὲν οὓς εἶπον, προειρηκὼς δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἃ συνεληλυθότες ἦσαν, ἀνέγνωστο δ' ὁ λόγος, ἐπῃνημένος δ' ἦν καὶ τεθορυβημένος καὶ τετυχηκὼς ὧνπερ οἱ κατορθοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεσιν.

234 Ἁπάντων δὲ τούτων ἐπιτετελεσμένων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διελέγοντο πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, δῆλον ὅτι περὶ

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[a] The common term for a servant. Slaves were often employed as secretaries.

[b] "Epideictic" speeches—orations composed to display the powers of the speaker.

I did not cease until I had dictated to my boy [a] the speech which a short time before I had delivered with pleasure but which a little later was to cause me distress. For when, after three or four days had elapsed, I was reading and going over it, I found that, while I was not troubled about the things which I had said about Athens (for in everything which had reference to her I had written well and justly), yet I was distressed and uncomfortable about what I had said with reference to the Lacedaemonians. For it seemed to me that I had not spoken of them with moderation nor in the same manner as the rest of the world but with contempt and with extreme bitterness and altogether without understanding. The result was that I was often on the point of blotting out or burning what I had written and as often changed my mind when I thought with pity of my old age and of the labour which had been spent upon my discourse.

Since I was in this state of confusion, shifting frequently from one impulse to the other, I decided that the best thing for me to do was to call in those of my former disciples who lived in the city and take counsel with them as to whether my discourse was to be entirely destroyed or to be distributed among those who desired to have it, and to follow their judgement whatever it might be. Having so resolved, I lost no time; they whom I have mentioned were summoned at once; I announced to them beforehand the object of their coming together; the speech was read aloud, was praised and applauded and accorded even such a reception as is given to successful declamations.[b]

But when all this demonstration had come to an end, the others present began to talk among themselves,

τῶν ἀναγνωσθέντων· ὃν δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετεπεμψάμεθα
σύμβουλον, τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπαινέτην, πρὸς ὃν
πλείω διελέχθην τοῦ δέοντος, σιωπὴν ποιησάμενος
καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ βλέψας ἀπορεῖν ἔφασκεν ὅ τι χρή-
σηται τοῖς παροῦσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν βούλεσθαι
τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, οὔτε πιστεύειν δύνασθαι
235 παντάπασιν αὐτοῖς. "θαυμάζω γὰρ εἴθ' οὕτως
ἐλυπήθης καὶ βαρέως ἔσχες, ὥσπερ φῄς, ἐπὶ τοῖς
περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰρημένοις, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν
αὐτοῖς ὁρῶ τοιοῦτον γεγραμμένον, εἴτε συμβούλοις
περὶ τοῦ λόγου χρήσασθαι βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς
συνήγαγες, οὓς οἶσθ' ἀκριβῶς ἅπαν ὅ τι ἂν σὺ
λέγῃς ἢ πράττῃς ἐπαινοῦντας. εἰθισμένοι δ' εἰσὶν
οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἀνακοινοῦσθαι, περὶ ὧν ἂν σπου-
δάζωσι, μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς ἄμεινον αὑτῶν φρονοῦσιν,
[282] εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὴν αὑτῶν
236 γνώμην· ὧν τἀναντία σὺ πεποίηκας. τούτων μὲν
οὖν οὐδέτερον ἀποδέχομαι τῶν λόγων, δοκεῖς δέ
μοι ποιήσασθαι τήν τε παράκλησιν τὴν ἡμετέραν
καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον τὸν τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ἁπλῶς, οὐδ'
ὡς διείλεξαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν μὲν πεῖραν
λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, εἰ φιλοσοφοῦμεν καὶ μεμνήμεθα
τῶν ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς λεγομένων καὶ συνιδεῖν
δυνηθεῖμεν ἂν ὃν τρόπον ὁ λόγος τυγχάνει γε-
237 γραμμένος, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐπαινεῖν προελέσθαι τὴν
σαυτοῦ σωφρονῶν, ἵνα τῷ τε πλήθει τῷ τῶν πολι-
τῶν χαρίσῃ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς εὐνοϊκῶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς δια-

presumably about the discourse which had been read. But the man whom I had sent for at first to obtain his advice (the panegyrist of the Lacedaemonians, to whom I had spoken at greater length than I should), having remained silent in the meantime, turned to me and said that he was in doubt what to do in the present situation, for he desired neither to discredit the words which I had spoken nor was he able to credit them entirely. "For I wonder," he continued, "whether you were as distressed and uncomfortable about the things which you had said concerning the Lacedaemonians as you allege—for I see nothing in what you have written to indicate such a feeling—and whether you really brought us together because you desired to get our advice about your discourse, since you knew well enough that we always commend whatever you say or do. Men of intelligence are accustomed to take common counsel with others regarding matters about which they are concerned, preferably with those who are wiser than themselves, but, at any rate, with those who will express their own judgement. But you have done the very opposite. Therefore I accept neither of these explanations but am rather of the opinion that you summoned us here and pronounced your encomium on Athens, not ingenuously nor for the reason you stated to us, but because you wanted to test us to see if we were true to the cultivated life, if we remembered what had been said to us under your tutelage, and if we could grasp at once the manner in which your speech was written—that you chose, and chose wisely, to eulogize your own city in order that you might gratify the multitude of your fellow-citizens and that you might win the acclaim of those who are friendly disposed

κειμένοις εὐδοκιμήσῃς. ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς ὑπέλαβες ὡς εἰ μὲν περὶ μόνης αὐτῆς ποιήσει τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ μυθώδη περὶ αὐτῆς ἐρεῖς ἃ πάντες θρυλοῦσιν, ὅμοια φανεῖται τὰ λεγόμενα τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γεγραμμένοις, ἐφ' ᾧ σὺ μάλιστ' ἂν αἰσχυν-
238 θείης καὶ λυπηθείης· ἐὰν δ' ἐάσας ἐκεῖνα λέγῃς τὰς πράξεις τὰς ὁμολογουμένας καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίας τοῖς Ἕλλησι γεγενημένας, καὶ παραβάλλῃς αὐτὰς πρὸς τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἐπαινῇς, τῶν δ' ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων κατηγορῇς, ὅ τε λόγος ἐναργέστερος εἶναι δόξει τοῖς ἀκούουσι καὶ σὺ μενεῖς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὃ μᾶλλον ἄν τινες θαυμάσειαν τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις γεγραμμένων.
239 "Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν οὕτω μοι φαίνει τάξαι καὶ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, εἰδὼς δὲ σαυτὸν ἐπῃνεκότα τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν διοίκησιν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος, φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀκηκοότας, μὴ δόξῃς ὅμοιος εἶναι τοῖς λέγουσιν ὅ τι ἂν τύχωσι καὶ τούτους νῦν ψέγειν οὓς πρότερον ἐπῄνεις μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων· ταῦτ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς σκοπεῖσθαι ποίους τινὰς ἂν ἑκατέρους εἶναι φήσας ἀληθῆ τε λέγειν δόξειας περὶ ἀμφοτέρων, ἔχοις τ' ἂν τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ἐπαινεῖν, οὕσπερ βούλει, Σπαρτιατῶν δὲ δοκεῖν μὲν κατηγορεῖν τοῖς ἀηδῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακειμένοις,

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[a] An exaggeration. But see *Archidamus*; *Areop.* 7; *Nicocles* 24; *Peace* 142 ff.

towards you. But having so decided, you conceived that if you confined your discourse to Athens alone and repeated the fables about her which fall easily from the lips of everyone, your speech would appear no different from those which had been composed by the other orators (which would cause you extreme humiliation and distress), whereas if you discarded these fables and dealt with her acknowledged achievements, which have brought many blessings to the Hellenes, and compared these with the deeds of the Lacedaemonians, praising the achievements of your ancestors and censuring the things which have been done by the Lacedaemonians, not only would your discourse make a more striking impression upon your hearers but you yourself would lose no ground, and many would admire such a treatment of the theme more than what had been written by the other orators.

"At the first, then, so it appears to me, this was the manner in which you reviewed and thought upon your problem. But since you knew that you had praised the government of the Spartans more than any other man,[a] you feared lest you might impress those who had heard this praise as no different from the orators who speak without conviction or principle, if, that is to say, you censured on the present occasion those whom you formerly were wont to praise above all others. Pondering this difficulty, you proceeded to study in what light you could represent each of these two cities in order that you might seem to speak the truth about them both and that you might be able to praise your ancestors, just as you purposed to do, and at the same time to appear to be censuring the Spartans in the eyes of those who have no liking for

μηδὲν δὲ ποιεῖν τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ λανθάνειν ἐπαινῶν
240 αὐτούς· ζητῶν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥᾳδίως εὑρεῖν λόγους
ἀμφιβόλους καὶ μηδὲν μᾶλλον μετὰ τῶν ἐπαινούν-
[283] των ἢ τῶν ψεγόντων ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζειν
δυναμένους καὶ πολλὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχοντας, οἷς
χρῆσθαι περὶ μὲν συμβολαίων καὶ περὶ πλεονεξίας
ἀγωνιζόμενον αἰσχρὸν καὶ πονηρίας οὐ μικρὸν
σημεῖον, περὶ δὲ φύσεως ἀνθρώπων διαλεγόμενον
241 καὶ πραγμάτων καλὸν καὶ φιλόσοφον. οἷός περ ὁ
λόγος ὁ διαναγνωσθείς ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ πεποίηκας τοὺς
μὲν σοὺς προγόνους εἰρηνικοὺς καὶ φιλέλληνας καὶ
τῆς ἰσότητος τῆς ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡγεμόνας,
Σπαρτιάτας δ' ὑπεροπτικοὺς καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ
πλεονέκτας, οἵους περ αὐτοὺς εἶναι πάντες ὑπ-
ειλήφασιν.

"Τοιαύτην δ' ἑκατέρων ἐχόντων τὴν φύσιν, τοὺς
μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν εὔνους εἶναι
τῷ πλήθει, τοῖς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς φθονεῖν καὶ
242 δυσμενῶς ἔχειν, ἔστι δ' οὓς καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ
θαυμάζειν, καὶ τολμᾶν λέγειν ὡς ἀγαθὰ μείζω
τυγχάνουσιν ἔχοντες τῶν τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς σοῖς
προσόντων· τήν τε γὰρ ὑπεροψίαν σεμνότητος
μετέχειν, εὐδοκίμου πράγματος, καὶ δοκεῖν ἅπασι
μεγαλοφρονεστέρους εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους ἢ τοὺς
τῆς ἰσότητος προεστῶτας, τούς τε πολεμικοὺς
πολὺ διαφέρειν τῶν εἰρηνικῶν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὔτε
κτητικοὺς εἶναι τῶν οὐκ ὄντων οὔτε φύλακας
δεινοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, τοὺς δ' ἀμφότερα δύνα-
σθαι, καὶ λαμβάνειν ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμῶσι καὶ σώζειν

[a] Surely this is ironical.

them, while in reality doing nothing of the sort but covertly praising them instead. Seeking such an effect, you found without difficulty arguments of double meaning, which lend themselves no more to the purpose of those who praise than of those who blame, but are capable of being turned both ways and leave room for much disputation—arguments the employment of which, when one contends in court over contracts for his own advantage, is shameful and no slight token of depravity but, when one discourses on the nature of man and of things, is honourable and bespeaks a cultivated mind.[a] Even such is the discourse which has been read, in which you have represented your ancestors as devoted to peace and lovers of the Hellenes and champions of equality in the government of states, but have painted the Spartans as arrogant and warlike and self-seeking, as indeed they have been conceived by all men to be.

"Such being the nature of each of these two cities, the Athenians are extolled by all men and are credited with being friendly to the masses, while the Spartans are envied and disliked by the majority of men. There are, however, those who praise them and admire them and make bold to say that they have greater advantages than were possessed by your ancestors. For arrogance partakes of dignity—a quality held in high esteem—and men of that character are regarded as more high-minded than those who champion equality, just as those who are warlike are regarded as superior to those who are peaceable. For the latter are neither seekers after what they do not have nor staunch guardians of what they possess, while the former are effective in both respects—both in seizing whatever they covet and in keeping what-

ἅπερ ἂν ἅπαξ κατάσχωσιν· ἃ ποιοῦσιν οἱ τέλειοι
243 δοκοῦντες εἶναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ
τῆς πλεονεξίας καλλίους ἔχειν οἴονται λόγους τῶν
εἰρημένων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀποστεροῦντας τὰ συμ-
βόλαια καὶ τοὺς παρακρουομένους καὶ παραλογι-
ζομένους οὐχ ἡγοῦνται δικαίως καλεῖσθαι πλεον-
εκτικούς, διὰ γὰρ τὸ πονηρὰν ἔχειν τὴν δόξαν ἐν
ἅπασιν αὐτοὺς ἐλαττοῦσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι, τὰς δὲ
Σπαρτιατῶν πλεονεξίας καὶ τὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ
τὰς τῶν τυράννων εὐκτὰς μὲν εἶναι, καὶ ἅπαντας
244 αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ
καταρᾶσθαι τοῖς τὰς τηλικαύτας ἔχουσι δυναστείας·
οὐδένα δὲ τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὴν φύσιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν
[284] εὔξαιτο τοῖς θεοῖς μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς τυχεῖν τῆς
ἐξουσίας ταύτης, εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους· ᾧ
καὶ φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἅπαντες
εἶναι νομίζομεν τὸ πλέον ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων.

"Τὴν μὲν οὖν περιβολὴν τοῦ λόγου δοκεῖς μοι
245 ποιήσασθαι μετὰ τοιαύτης διανοίας. εἰ μὲν οὖν
ἡγούμην ἀφέξεσθαί σε τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ παρα-
λείψειν ἀνεπιτίμητον τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, οὐδ' ἂν
αὐτὸς ἔτι λέγειν ἐπεχείρουν· νῦν δ' ὅτι μὲν οὐκ
ἀπεφηνάμην περὶ ὧν παρεκλήθην σύμβουλος, οὐδὲν
οἶμαί σοι μελήσειν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅτε συνῆγες ἡμᾶς,
246 ἐδόκεις μοι σπουδάζειν περὶ αὐτῶν, προελόμενον
δέ σε[1] συνθεῖναι λόγον μηδὲν ὅμοιον τοῖς ἄλλοις,

[1] προελόμενον δέ σε scripsi: ὅτε δὲ προελόμενος οὐ Γ.

[a] Manifestly Isocrates in this passage imitates Plato's *Republic* 344, where Thrasymachus, maintaining that

ever they have once made their own. And this is what is done by those who are men in the complete sense.[a] But the eulogists of Sparta think they have even a stronger plea for self-seeking than what I have said. For they do not consider that men who break contracts and cheat and falsify accounts deserve to be termed self-seeking; for because they are in bad repute with all men they come off worse in all circumstances, whereas the self-seeking of the Spartans and of kings and despots is a gift from heaven which all men crave. It is true that those who hold such power are the objects of abuse and execration; but no man is so constituted by nature that he would not pray to the gods to be granted this power, preferably for himself, but, failing that, for those nearest and dearest to him. And this fact makes it manifest that all men regard it as the greatest good in the world to have the advantage over others.

"It was, then, with such thoughts, as it seems to me, that you planned the general scope of your discourse. But if I believed that you would refrain from revising what has been said and would let this discourse stand without criticism, I would not myself attempt to speak further. As it is, however, I do not suppose that you will feel disturbed in the least because I did not speak out my opinion on the question about which I was called in to advise you, for even at the time when you called us together you did not seem to me to be really concerned about it. I suppose rather that you will object that, whereas you have deliberately chosen to compose a discourse which is not at

"justice is the interest of the stronger," bids Socrates not to mark the consequences of injustice practised on a petty scale but those of the "most complete injustice," such as a despotism. *Cf.* Plato, *Gorgias* 483.

ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ῥαθύμως ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ἁπλοῦν εἶναι δόξοντα καὶ ῥᾴδιον καταμαθεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀκριβῶς διεξιοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ πειρωμένοις κατιδεῖν ὃ τοὺς ἄλλους λέληθεν, χαλεπὸν φανούμενον καὶ δυσκαταμάθητον καὶ πολλῆς μὲν ἱστορίας γέμοντα καὶ φιλοσοφίας, παντοδαπῆς δὲ μεστὸν ποικιλίας καὶ ψευδολογίας, οὐ τῆς εἰθισμένης μετὰ κακίας βλάπτειν τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς δυναμένης μετὰ παιδιᾶς ὠφελεῖν ἢ τέρπειν
247 τοὺς ἀκούοντας,—ὧν οὐδὲν ἐάσαντά με φήσειν[1] τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἔχειν ὡς ἐβουλεύσω σὺ περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τήν τε δύναμιν τῶν λεγομένων διδάσκοντα καὶ τὴν σὴν διάνοιαν ἐξηγούμενον οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι τοσούτῳ τὸν λόγον ἀδοξότερον δι' ἐμὲ γιγνόμενον, ὅσῳ περ αὐτὸν φανερώτερον ἐποίουν καὶ γνωριμώτερον τοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν· ἐπιστήμην γὰρ τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσιν ἐνεργαζόμενον ἔρημον τὸν λόγον με ποιεῖν καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἀποστερεῖν τῆς γιγνομένης ἂν αὐτῷ διὰ τοὺς πονοῦντας καὶ πράγματα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντας.

248 " 'Ἐγὼ δ' ὁμολογῶ μὲν ἀπολελεῖφθαι τὴν ἐμὴν φρόνησιν τῆς σῆς ὡς δυνατὸν πλεῖστον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τοῦτ' οἶδα, κἀκεῖνο τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως τῆς ὑμετέρας βουλευομένης περὶ τῶν μεγίστων οἱ μὲν ἄριστα φρονεῖν δοκοῦντες ἐνίοτε διαμαρτάνουσι τοῦ συμφέροντος, τῶν δὲ φαύλων νομιζομένων εἶναι καὶ καταφρονουμένων
[285] ἔστιν ὅτε κατώρθωσεν ὁ τυχὼν καὶ βέλτιστα
249 λέγειν ἔδοξεν· ὥστ' οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ περὶ

[1] φήσειν scripsi: φήσεις MSS.

all like any other, but which to those who read it casually will appear to be ingenuous and easy to comprehend, though to those who scan it thoroughly and endeavour to see in it what has escaped all others it will reveal itself as difficult and hard to understand, packed with history and philosophy, and filled with all manner of devices and fictions—not the kind of fictions which, used with evil intent, are wont to injure one's fellow-citizens, but the kind which, used by the cultivated mind, are able to benefit or to delight one's audience,—you will object, I say, that, whereas you have chosen to do this, yet I have not allowed any of this to stand as you resolved that it should, but that I fail to see that in seeking both to explain the force of your words and to expound your real thoughts I thereby lessen the reputation of the discourse in proportion as I make it more patent and intelligible to its readers; for by implanting understanding in those who are without knowledge I render the discourse naked and strip it of the honour which would otherwise attach to it through those who study hard and are willing to take pains.

"But, while I acknowledge that my own intelligence is vastly inferior to your own, yet as surely as I appreciate this fact so surely do I know that in times when your city deliberates on matters of the greatest import those who are reputed to be the wisest sometimes miss the expedient course of action, whereas now and then some chance person from the ranks of men who are deemed of no account and are regarded with contempt hits upon the right course and is thought to give the best advice. It would not, then, be surprising if something of the sort has come to pass

τοῦ νῦν ἐνεστῶτος τοιοῦτόν τι συμβέβηκεν, ὅπου σὺ μὲν οἴει μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμήσειν, ἢν ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον διαλάθῃς ἣν ἔχων γνώμην τὰ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπραγματεύθης, ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι βέλτιστά σε πράξειν, ἢν δυνηθῇς τὴν διάνοιαν, ᾗ χρώμενος αὐτὸν συνέθηκας, ὡς τάχιστα φανερὰν ποιῆσαι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις, περὶ ὧν πεποίησαι πολλοὺς λόγους, τοὺς μὲν δικαίους καὶ σεμνούς, τοὺς δ' ἀσελγεῖς καὶ λίαν φιλαπεχθήμονας.

250 "Οὓς εἴ τις ἐπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς πρὶν ἐμὲ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἂν ἐμίσησαν καὶ δυσκόλως πρὸς σὲ διετέθησαν ὡς κατηγορίαν γεγραφότα καθ' αὐτῶν. νῦν δ' οἴομαι τοὺς μὲν πλείστους Σπαρτιατῶν ἐμμενεῖν τοῖς ἤθεσιν οἷσπερ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, τοῖς δὲ λόγοις τοῖς ἐνθάδε γραφομένοις οὐδὲν μᾶλλον προσέξειν τὸν νοῦν ἢ τοῖς ἔξω τῶν Ἡρακλέους
251 στηλῶν λεγομένοις, τοὺς δὲ φρονιμωτάτους αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν λόγων τινὰς ἔχοντας τῶν σῶν καὶ θαυμάζοντας, τούτους, ἢν λάβωσι τὸν ἀναγνωσόμενον καὶ χρόνον ὥστε συνδιατρῖψαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἀγνοήσειν τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων αἰσθήσεσθαι τῶν μετ' ἀποδείξεως εἰρημένων περὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιδοριῶν καταφρονήσειν τῶν εἰκῇ μὲν τοῖς πράγμασι λεγομένων πικρῶς δὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι κεχρημένων, καὶ νομιεῖν τὰς μὲν βλασφημίας τὰς ἐνούσας ἐν
252 τῷ βιβλίῳ τὸν φθόνον ὑποβαλεῖν, τὰς δὲ πράξεις καὶ τὰς μάχας, ἐφ' αἷς αὐτοί τε μέγα φρονοῦσι

in the present instance, where you think that you will gain the greatest credit if you conceal for the longest possible time the purpose you had in mind when you worked out your discourse, whereas I think that you will best succeed if you can with the least possible delay publish the thought by which you were governed when you composed it to all the world and especially to the Lacedaemonians, whom you have often discussed, sometimes with fairness and dignity, but then again with recklessness and extreme captiousness.

"For if one were to show them a discourse of the latter sort before I had explained it to them, they would inevitably hate you and dislike you for having written in denunciation of them. As it is, I think that while most of the Lacedaemonians will continue to abide in the ways to which they have been faithful in past times and will pay no more attention to what is written in Athens than to what is said beyond the Pillars of Heracles, yet the most intelligent among them, who possess and admire certain of your writings, will not misapprehend anything of what is said in this discourse if they can find someone who will interpret it to them, and if they can take the time to ponder over it by themselves; on the contrary, they will appreciate the praise given to their own city, which is based on proof, while they will dismiss with contempt the abuse, which is uttered at random with no regard to the facts, and is offensive only in the words employed; and they will think that envy slipped in the calumnies which are found in your treatise, but that you have recorded the exploits and the battles in which they themselves take great pride and because of which they enjoy a high repute with the

καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμοῦσι, σὲ γεγραφέναι
καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι πεποιηκέναι, συναγαγόντα πάσας
αὐτὰς καὶ θέντα παρ' ἀλλήλας, αἴτιον δ' εἶναι καὶ
τοῦ πολλοὺς ποθεῖν ἀναγνῶναι καὶ διελθεῖν αὐτάς,
οὐ τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀκοῦσαι πράξεις,
253 ἀλλὰ πῶς σὺ διείλεξαι περὶ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν βουλο-
μένους. ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους καὶ διεξιόντας οὐδὲ
τῶν παλαιῶν ἔργων ἀμνημονήσειν, δι' ὧν ἐγκεκω-
[286] μίακας τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις
διαλέξεσθαι πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι
Δωριεῖς ὄντες, ἐπειδὴ κατεῖδον τὰς πόλεις τὰς
ἑαυτῶν ἀδόξους καὶ μικρὰς καὶ πολλῶν ἐνδεεῖς
οὔσας, ὑπεριδόντες ταύτας ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὰς
ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πρωτευούσας, ἐπ' Ἄργος καὶ
254 Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Μεσσήνην, μάχῃ δὲ νικήσαντες
τοὺς μὲν ἡττηθέντας ἔκ τε τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς
χώρας ἐξέβαλον, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰς κτήσεις ἁπάσας
τὰς ἐκείνων τότε κατασχόντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν,
οὗ μεῖζον ἔργον καὶ θαυμαστότερον οὐδεὶς ἐπι-
δείξει κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γενόμενον, οὐδὲ
πρᾶξιν εὐτυχεστέραν καὶ θεοφιλεστέραν τῆς τοὺς
χρησαμένους τῆς μὲν οἰκείας ἀπορίας ἀπαλλαξάσης,
τῆς δ' ἀλλοτρίας εὐδαιμονίας κυρίους ποιησάσης.
255 "Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μετὰ πάντων συστρατευσα-
μένων ἔπραξαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ
Μεσσηνίους τὴν χώραν διείλοντο καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς
ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατῴκησαν, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς
τοσοῦτον φρονῆσαι φῂς αὐτούς, ὥστε ὄντας οὐ

rest of the world, and that you have made these achievements memorable by collecting them all and placing them side by side with each other and so have brought it about that many of the Spartans long to read and peruse your accounts of them, not because they crave to hear of their own deeds, but because they wish to hear how you have dealt with them. And as they think and dwell upon these deeds, they will not fail to recall also those ancient exploits through which you have glorified their ancestors,[a] but will often talk of them amongst themselves; and first of all they will tell of the time when, being still Dorians, they saw their own cities to be inglorious and insignificant and in need of many things, and, feeling them to be unworthy, took the field against the leading states of the Peloponnesus—against Argos and Lacedaemon and Messene—conquered them in battle and drove the vanquished both from their cities and from their lands, and seized for themselves at that time all the possessions of the enemy and have continued to hold them to this day. And no man can point to a greater or a more marvellous achievement in those times nor to an enterprise more fortunate or more blessed of the gods than that which delivered those who engaged in it from their own poverty and placed them in possession of the prosperity of others.

" These were victories won with the aid of all who joined in that expedition. But after they had divided the territory with the Argives and the Messenians and for themselves had settled in Sparta—at this juncture, as you say, they were so proud that although they then numbered no more than two

[a] See 239, note.

πλείους τότε δισχιλίων οὐχ ἡγήσασθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀξίους εἶναι ζῆν, εἰ μὴ δεσπόται πασῶν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων γενέσθαι δυνηθεῖεν,
256 ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθέντας καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντας οὐκ ἀπειπεῖν, ἐν πολλοῖς κακοῖς καὶ κινδύνοις γιγνομένους, πρὶν ἁπάσας ταύτας ὑφ' αὑτοῖς ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως, ἔχοντας δ' ἤδη καὶ χώραν πλείστην καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην καὶ δόξαν τοσαύτην ὅσην προσήκει τοὺς τηλικαῦτα διαπεπραγμένους οὐχ ἧττον διακεῖσθαι φιλοτίμως, ὅτι λόγος ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς ἴδιος καὶ
257 καλὸς μόνοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἐξεῖναι γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι σφεῖς μὲν ὄντες οὕτως ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐδεμιᾷ πώποτε τῶν μυριάνδρων πόλεων ἠκολούθησαν οὐδ' ἐποίησαν τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτόνομοι διετέλεσαν ὄντες, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες κατέστησαν, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἔτυχον οὐκ ἀλόγως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μάχας ποιησάμενοι πλείστας ἀνθρώπων κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον μηδεμίαν ἡττηθῆναι τούτων ἡγουμένου
258 βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ νενικηκέναι πάσας, οὗ τεκμήριον
[287] οὐδεὶς ἂν δύναιτο μεῖζον εἰπεῖν ἀνδρίας καὶ καρτερίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίας, πλὴν ἢ τὸ ῥηθήσεσθαι μέλλον· τοσούτων γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων οὐσῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδεμίαν οὐδέν'[1] εἰπεῖν οὐδ' εὑρεῖν, ἥτις οὐ περιπέπτωκε ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς εἰθισμέναις
259 γίγνεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν

[1] *οὐδεμίαν οὐδέν'* Benseler: *οὐδεμίαν* MSS.

[a] The Spartans at the time of the Persian Wars numbered

thousand men[a] they considered themselves unworthy to live unless they could make themselves masters of all the cities in the Peloponnesus. In this state of mind, they undertook to wage war and did not cease, albeit they were involved in many misadventures and dangers, before they had reduced them all to subjection, except the city of the Argives. But when at length they held the greatest territory and the strongest power in Hellas and a reputation appropriate to men who had achieved such mighty things, they continued no less to pride themselves upon the fact that they could boast of a record unique and glorious: for they, alone of the Hellenes, could say that, albeit so few in number, they had never followed the lead or done the bidding of any one of the populous states, but had throughout been free and independent; and that they themselves in the war against the barbarians had held the place of leadership among all the Hellenes and had attained this honour, not without good reason, but because they had fought more battles than any other people in those times and had never been defeated in any one of them, when a king led them forth to battle, but had been victorious in all. And no one could urge a stronger proof than this of their valour and their hardihood and of their concord amongst themselves, except that which I shall now mention: for of all the other Hellenic states, many as they are, no man could cite or find a single one which has not been involved in the misadventures which are wont to happen to states, whereas in the city of the Spartans no one can

eight thousand according to Herod. vii. 234. Aristotle (*Politics* ii. 9) states that in his day there were hardly one thousand.

οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπιδείξειεν οὔτε στάσιν οὔτε σφαγὰς οὔτε φυγὰς ἀνόμους γεγενημένας, οὐδ᾽ ἁρπαγὰς χρημάτων οὐδ᾽ αἰσχύνας γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ πολιτείας μεταβολὴν οὐδὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς οὐδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμὸν οὐδ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν. περὶ ὧν διεξιόντας οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ καὶ σοῦ, τοῦ τ᾽ ἀθροίσαντος καὶ διαλεχθέντος οὕτω καλῶς περὶ αὐτῶν, μεμνήσεσθαι καὶ πολλὴν χάριν ἕξειν.

260 "Οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ σοῦ νῦν καὶ πρότερον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς παρελθοῦσι χρόνοις ἐθαύμαζόν σου τήν τε φύσιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου τάξιν καὶ τὴν φιλοπονίαν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, νῦν δὲ ζηλῶ σε καὶ μακαρίζω τῆς εὐδαιμονίας· δοκεῖς γάρ μοι ζῶν μὲν λήψεσθαι δόξαν οὐ μείζω μὲν ἧς ἄξιος εἶ, χαλεπὸν γάρ, παρὰ πλείοσι δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁμολογουμένην τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης, τελευτήσας δὲ τὸν βίον μεθέξειν ἀθανασίας, οὐ τῆς τοῖς θεοῖς παρούσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν διενεγκόντων ἐπί
261 τινι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων μνήμην ἐμποιούσης. καὶ δικαίως τεύξει τούτων· ἐπῄνεκας γὰρ τὰς πόλεις ἀμφοτέρας καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως, τὴν μὲν κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν, ἧς οὐδεὶς τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀνδρῶν καταπεφρόνηκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιθυμοῦντες τυχεῖν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅντινα κίνδυνον οὐχ ὑπομένουσι, τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν πειρωμένων στοχάζεσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, παρ᾽ οἷς εὐδοκιμεῖν ἂν τινες ἕλοιντο μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις διπλασίοις γενομένοις ἢ νῦν εἰσιν.

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[a] Almost quoted from *Antid.* 127.

[b] See *To Demonicus* 38 and note; *To Nicocles* 37; *Phil.* 134.

show an instance of civil faction or slaughter or unlawful exile, nor of seizure of property or outrage to women and children, nor even of revolution or abolition of debts or redistribution of lands, nor of any other of the irreparable ills.[a] And as the Spartans review these facts, they cannot fail to remember you also, who have collected them and discoursed upon them so ably, and to be most grateful to you.

"But I do not now have the same feeling about you as I had formerly. For in time past I admired your natural endowments and the manner in which you ordered your life and your devotion to work and above all the truth of your teaching, but now I envy and congratulate you because of your good fortune. For it seems to me that during your lifetime you will gain a reputation, not greater than you deserve—for that would be difficult—but one more widely extended and more heartily acknowledged than that which you now possess, and that after you have ceased to live you will partake of immortality,[b] not the immortality which the gods enjoy, but that which plants in future generations a remembrance of those who have distinguished themselves in any noble endeavour. And you will deserve this reward; for you have extolled both these cities well and fittingly—Athens, according to the acclaim of the majority, which no man of note has ever disdained, while all men in their craving to obtain it are ready to submit themselves to any hazard whatsoever; but Sparta, according to the reasoning of those who endeavour to aim at the truth, whose good opinion some would choose in preference to that of all the rest of the world, even were mankind to number twice as many as now.

262 “ Ἀπλήστως δὲ διακείμενος ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς
τὸ λέγειν, καὶ πόλλ’ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχων ἔτι καὶ περὶ
σοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῖν πολέοιν καὶ περὶ τοῦ λόγου,
[288] ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσω, περὶ ὧν δὲ παρακληθῆναί με σὺ
φῄς, περὶ τούτων ἀποφανοῦμαι. συμβουλεύω γάρ
σοι μήτε κατακάειν τὸν λόγον μήτ’ ἀφανίζειν,
ἀλλ’ εἴ τινος ἐνδεής ἐστι, διορθώσαντα καὶ προσ-
γράψαντα πάσας τὰς διατριβὰς τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν
γεγενημένας διδόναι τοῖς βουλομένοις λαμβάνειν,
263 εἴπερ βούλει χαρίσασθαι μὲν τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτοις
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφοῦσιν
ἀλλὰ μὴ προσποιουμένοις, λυπῆσαι δὲ τοὺς θαυ-
μάζοντας μὲν τὰ σὰ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, λοιδορου-
μένους δὲ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς σοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις
τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς, ἐν οἷς πλείους εἰσὶν οἱ καθεύδον-
τες τῶν ἀκροωμένων, καὶ προσδοκῶντας, ἢν παρα-
κρούσωνται τοὺς τοιούτους, ἐναμίλλους τοὺς αὑτῶν
γενήσεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ γεγραμμένοις, κακῶς
εἰδότας ὅτι πλέον ἀπολελειμμένοι τῶν σῶν εἰσιν ἢ
τῆς Ὁμήρου δόξης οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ
ποίησιν γεγονότες.”
264 Ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀξιώ-
σαντος ἀποφήνασθαι περὶ ὧν παρεκλήθησαν, οὐκ
ἐθορύβησαν, ὃ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς χαριέντως
διειλεγμένοις, ἀλλ’ ἀνεβόησαν ὡς ὑπερβαλλόντως
εἰρηκότος, καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἐπῄνουν, ἐζή-
λουν, ἐμακάριζον, καὶ προσθεῖναι μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχον
τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐδ’ ἀφελεῖν, συναπεφαίνοντο δὲ
καὶ συνεβούλευόν μοι ποιεῖν ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος παρ-
265 ῄνεσεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ ἐγὼ παρεστὼς ἐσιώπων, ἀλλ’

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[a] *Cf. Phil.* 12.

"I am insatiable in my desire to speak on the present occasion and I still have many things which I might say concerning you and these two cities and your discourse, but I shall forgo these subjects and declare myself only upon the question about which, as you say, you called me in to advise you. I counsel you, then, not to burn or to suppress your discourse, but—if there be any need of so doing—to revise and supplement it and then give to those who desire it the benefit of all the time and pains which you have spent upon its composition, if indeed you wish to gratify the worthiest among the Hellenes—those who are in truth devoted to culture and do not merely pretend to it—and to annoy those who secretly admire your writings above all others but malign your discourses before the crowds at the national festivals, in which those who sleep outnumber those who listen;[a] for these speakers hope that if only they can hoodwink such audiences their own compositions will rival yours in popular favour, little realizing that their work is farther below the level of yours than the poets who have essayed to compose in the manner of Homer fall short of his reputation."

When he had said these things and had asked those present to express their opinion on the question about which they had been called in, they did not merely accord him the applause with which they were wont to greet a clever speech but signified by tumultuous shouts that he had spoken excellently; they crowded around him, praised him, envied him, congratulated him, and found nothing to add to what he had said or to subtract therefrom, but showed that they were of his opinion and advised me to do the very thing which he had urged. Nor did I, for my part, stand silently

ἐπῄνεσα τήν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν,
περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐφθεγξάμην ὧν εἶπεν,
οὔθ' ὡς ἔτυχε ταῖς ὑπονοίαις τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας
οὔθ' ὡς διήμαρτεν, ἀλλ' εἴων αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχειν
ὥσπερ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διέθηκεν.

266 Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν ὑπεθέμην ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι νο-
μίζω· τὸ γὰρ ἀναμιμνήσκειν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν
εἰρημένων οὐ πρέπει τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς τοιούτοις·
βούλομαι δὲ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ τῶν ἰδίᾳ μοι περὶ
τὸν λόγον συμβεβηκότων. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐνεστησάμην
μὲν αὐτὸν ἔτη γεγονὼς ὅσα περ ἐν ἀρχῇ προεῖπον·
267 ἤδη δὲ τῶν ἡμισέων γεγραμμένων ἐπιγενομένου
[289] μοι νοσήματος ῥηθῆναι μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεποῦς, δυνα-
μένου δ' ἀναιρεῖν οὐ μόνον τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἐν
τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσιν ἡμέραις ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀκμαζόν-
των πολλούς, τούτῳ διατελῶ τρί' ἔτη μαχόμενος,
οὕτω φιλοπόνως ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν διάγων,
ὥστε τοὺς εἰδότας καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τούτων πυνθα-
νομένους μᾶλλόν με θαυμάζειν διὰ τὴν καρτερίαν
268 ταύτην ἢ δι' ἃ πρότερον ἐπῃνούμην. ἤδη δ'
ἀπειρηκότος καὶ διὰ τὴν νόσον καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας,
τῶν ἐπισκοπούντων τινές με καὶ πολλάκις ἀν-
εγνωκότων τὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου τὸ γεγραμμένον,
ἐδέοντό μου καὶ συνεβούλευον μὴ καταλιπεῖν
αὐτὸν ἡμιτελῆ μηδ' ἀδιέργαστον, ἀλλὰ πονῆσαι
μικρὸν χρόνον καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς λοιποῖς τὸν
269 νοῦν. οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ διελέγοντο περὶ τούτων τοῖς
ἀφοσιουμένοις, ἀλλ' ὑπερεπαινοῦντες μὲν τὰ γεγραμ-
μένα, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντες, ὧν εἴ τινες ἤκουον μήτε

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[a] As at the close of the *Address to Philip*.

[b] See 3.

[c] Coray conjectures that the malady was dysentery.

by; on the contrary, I praised both his native ability and his training, although beyond that I uttered not a word about the sentiments which he had expressed, as to how his conjecture had hit upon my purpose or missed the mark, but let him remain of the same opinion which he had formed for himself.

Now as to the subject which I undertook to discuss, I think that I have said enough; for to review in detail the points which have been made[a] is not in keeping with discourses such as this. But I do wish to relate my personal experiences in relation to its composition. I entered upon it at the age which I have already stated at the beginning.[b] But when I had written half of it, I was attacked by a malady which it is not decorous to name,[c] but which is powerful enough to carry off in the course of three or four days not only older people but many in the prime of life. I battled against this disease without respite for three years, and I passed every day of that time with such devotion to my work that those who knew of my industry as well as those who learned of it from them admired me more because of this fortitude than because of the things for which I had formerly been praised. When, however, I had at length given up my work both because of my illness and of my age, certain of those who were in the habit of paying me visits, and who had read again and again the portion of my discourse which I had written, begged and urged me not to leave it half-finished or incomplete, but to work upon it for a short time and to give my thoughts to what remained to be done. They did not speak as men do who perfunctorily acquit themselves of a duty, but praised extravagantly what I had written, saying about it such things that if any

συνήθεις ἡμῖν ὄντες μήτ᾽ εὔνοιαν μηδεμίαν ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἂν ὑπέλαβον τοὺς μὲν φενακίζειν, ἐμὲ δὲ διεφθάρθαι καὶ παντάπασιν εἶναι
270 μωρόν, εἰ πείσομαι τοῖς λεγομένοις. οὕτω δ᾽ ἔχων ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησαν ἐπείσθην (τί γὰρ δεῖ μακρολογεῖν;) γενέσθαι πρὸς τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν πραγματείᾳ γεγονὼς μὲν ἔτη τρία μόνον ἀπολείποντα τῶν ἑκατόν, οὕτω δὲ διακείμενος ὡς ἕτερος ἔχων οὐχ ὅπως γράφειν ἂν λόγον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἄλλου δεικνύοντος καὶ πονήσαντος ἠθέλησεν ἀκροατὴς γενέσθαι.

271 Τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα ταῦτα διῆλθον; οὐ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀξιῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰρημένων, οὐ γὰρ οὕτως οἴομαι διειλέχθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ δηλῶσαι βουλόμενος τά τε περὶ ἐμὲ γεγενημένα, καὶ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τοὺς τόν τε λόγον ἀποδεχομένους τοῦτον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σπουδαιοτέρους καὶ φιλοσοφωτέρους εἶναι νομίζοντας τούς τε διδασκαλικοὺς[1] καὶ τεχνικοὺς τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας γεγραμμένων, καὶ τοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας στοχαζομένους τῶν τὰς δόξας τῶν
[290] ἀκροωμένων παρακρούεσθαι ζητούντων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις καὶ νουθετοῦντας τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν λεγομένων,
272 συμβουλεῦσαι δὲ τοῖς τἀναντία τούτων γιγνώ-

[1] τούς τε διδασκαλικοὺς vulg. : τοὺς διδασκαλικοὺς Γ.

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[a] Such as this discourse or the *Panegyricus*. See *Paneg.* 11.

[b] Speeches which were written for display—epideictic oratory—are composed with finish but are not instructive. See General Introd. p. xxii. Speeches written for the law-courts, on the other hand, lack the refinements of style and aim to pervert the truth. See General Introd. p. xxiii.

people had heard them who were not my personal friends and kindly disposed towards me, they could not possibly have failed to suppose that my visitors were trying to make a fool of me and that I had lost my wits and was altogether a simpleton if I allowed myself to be persuaded of what they said. But, although I had this feeling about the things which they made bold to state, I did allow myself to be persuaded (for why make a long story of it?) to occupy myself with the completion of the discourse, at a time when I lacked but three years of having lived a century and when I was in a state of infirmity such that anyone else similarly afflicted, so far from undertaking to write a discourse of his own, would not even be willing to listen to one worked out and submitted by another.

Why, then, have I gone into these matters? Not because I think that I should ask indulgence for the things which I have discussed—for I do not feel that I have spoken of them in a manner to require this—but because I desire both to relate my personal experiences and to commend those among my hearers who not only applaud this speech but prefer, as more weighty and more worthy of serious study, discourses which are composed for instruction and, at the same time, with finished art [a] to others which are written for display or for the law-courts,[b] and who prefer for the same reason discourses which aim at the truth to those which seek to lead astray the opinions of their auditors, and discourses which rebuke our faults and admonish [c] us to those which are spoken for our pleasure and gratification.[d] I desire, on the other

[c] Such as the *Peace*. See *Antid.* 62.
[d] *Cf. To Nicocles* 54.

σκουσι πρῶτον μὲν μὴ πιστεύειν ταῖς αὑτῶν γνώμαις, μηδὲ νομίζειν ἀληθεῖς εἶναι τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ῥᾳθυμούντων γιγνομένας, ἔπειτα μὴ προπετῶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν ἕως ἂν ὁμονοῆσαι δυνηθῶσι τοῖς τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἔχουσιν· τῶν γὰρ οὕτω διοικούντων τὰς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνοήτους εἶναι νομίσειεν.

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[a] Literally, " experience of things shown." Others render " experience in epideictic oratory."

hand, to warn those of my hearers who are of a mind contrary to these, in the first place, not to trust in their own opinions nor to regard as true the judgements which are pronounced by the lazy-minded and, in the second place, not to publish hastily their views on things which they do not understand, but to wait until they can find themselves in accord with men who have much experience of matters submitted to them for judgement;[a] for if they will so govern their thoughts, no one can fail to approve their discretion.

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